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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Test Ban Group Assailed for 'Disinformation' *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 14 Sep]* 1

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Warsaw Pact Bids Farewell to GDR Officers *[TASS]* 3
Warsaw Treaty Interim Commission Opens Meeting *[TASS]* 3
Soviet Delegate Comments on Warsaw CEMA Talks *[Moscow Radio]* 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

TASS Reports on Ignatenko's 18 Sep Briefing 4
Al Faysal, Gorbachev Confer 4
Israelis Meet With Gorbachev 4
Gorbachev's Union Treaty Stance 4
Warsaw Pact, NATO Officials Discuss Europe *[IZVESTIYA 16 Sep]* 4
World Food Council Chief Conducts Moscow Visit *[TASS]* 5
PRAVDA Writer Assesses Changing World Order *[16 Sep]* 5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Further on Former President Reagan's Visit 7
Says Cold War 'Vanquished' *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 7
Delivers Speech 17 Sep *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 7
Meets RSFSR's Yeltsin *[TASS]* 8
Leaves Moscow 19 Sep *[TASS]* 8
TASS Notes U.S. Law, Economic Conference 8
Lukyanov Discusses Ties 8
Ryzhkov Addresses Conference 8
Gorbachev Sends Greetings 9
U.S. Commerce Secretary Heads Trade Visit 9
News Conference Held 13 Sep *[IZVESTIYA 15 Sep]* 9
Highlights Trade Opportunities *[TASS]* 10
U.S. Business Group Awards Gorbachev UN Medal *[TASS]* 10
U.S. Air Force General's Disclosures, Firing Noted 11
General Tells Gulf Military Plans *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 11
Fired by Defense Secretary *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 11
Soviet-U.S. Memorandum on Nuclear Waste Signed *[TASS]* 11
Estonian Leader, Foreign Minister To Visit U.S. *[Tallinn Radio]* 12
U.S., Soviet News Agency Hold Talks 12
AP Delegation Arrives *[TASS]* 12
Agreement with TASS Signed *[TASS]* 12

China

Newly Appointed Ambassador to China Interviewed *[Moscow International]* 12
'Optimistic' Forecast for Sino-Soviet Talks *[Moscow International]* 13
RSFSR-PRC Province Relations Reviewed *[TASS]* 13

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Receives Japanese Businessmen *[PRAVDA 19 Sep]* 13
Japanese Defense Paper Highlights Improved Ties *[TASS]* 14
Commentary on U.S. Troops Stationed in ROK *[Moscow International]* 14
Soviet Media on Developing Ties With ROK *[Moscow International]* 15
Changes Observed Taking Place in DPRK *[Moscow International]* 15

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Normalization of Chinese-Vietnamese Ties Seen *[Moscow International]* 16
New Ambassador Appointed to Vietnam *[TASS]* 17
Talks on U.S. Bases in Philippines Reviewed *[Moscow International]* 17
Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew Scheduled To Visit *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 17

Near East & South Asia

Report on Lending Ship to U.S. in Gulf Denied *[AFP]* 17
Saudi Foreign Minister's Visit Continues 18
Talks With Gorbachev on Ties *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 18
Meets With Shevardnadze 18 Sep *[TASS]* 18
Addresses News Conference *[TASS]* 18
Urges 'Common Sense' in Iraq *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 19
Says Palestinian Cause Hurt *[Moscow TV]* 21
Considers Normalized Ties *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 21
TASS Views Reaction to Soviet-Saudi Relations 22
Soviet, Israeli Foreign Ministers To Meet 22
Ministry Announces Talks *[Moscow International]* 22
Improved Relations Seen *[Moscow Radio]* 22
Defense Ministry Comments on Iraqi Servicemen *[Moscow International]* 23
Cuba Denies Receiving Oil Shipments From Iraq *[Moscow Radio]* 23
NEW TIMES Views Iraq's Terrorist Links *[No 37]* 23
Mubarak Addresses Troops Sent to Saudi Arabia *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 25
Reports on Iraqi Acts Against Missions in Kuwait 25
UN Security Council Meets *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 25
Gorbachev, Mitterrand Talk *[PRAVDA 18 Sep]* 26

East Europe

CSFR Minister's Remarks on KGB Assailed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Sep]* 26
CSFR's Deputy Premier Holds Economic Talks *[Prague CTK]* 27
Economic Cooperation Accord Signed With Poland *[Moscow Radio]* 27
Polish Leader's First Year in Government Viewed *[PRAVDA 15 Sep]* 28
Polish Solidarity Figure on Party Split *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI No 36]* 28
Soviet, GDR Officials Discuss Railway System *[IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]* 29
Joint GDR Commission on Presence of Troops *[TASS]* 30
'Centralism' Reemerging in Romanian Economy *[PRAVDA 15 Sep]* 30

West Europe

Norwegian Military Inspectors View Border Area *[Moscow TV]* 30

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Confident About Holding Elections *[Moscow International]* 31
'Special Rights' for President Considered *[TASS]* 31
Remarks by Sobchak, Golyakov, Burlatskiy Noted *[TASS]* 31
Ryzhkov 'Remains Loyal' to His Economic Program *[Moscow International]* 32
Akhromeyev Reviews National Defense Capability *[Moscow TV]* 32

USSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings Detailed 18 Sep *[Moscow TV]* 33
17 Sep Supreme Soviet Proceedings Outlined *[Moscow TV]* 34
Parliament Economic Reform Debate Reported *[IZVESTIYA 16 Sep]* 35

Political & Social

Rumors of Army Coup d'Etat in Moscow *[Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 15 Sep]* 38
Shatalin Urges U.S.-Style Presidency in USSR *[Tokyo KYODO]* 39
Newspaper Carries New Article by Solzhenitsyn *[TASS]* 39
Democratic Nature of Moscow Rally Questioned *[KRASNAYA ZVEDA 18 Sep]* 39
Veterans Protest Abolition of GOSR Festivities *[Moscow Radio]* 40
Oil, Gas Trade Union Rules Out Strikes *[Moscow Radio]* 40
TV Chief Cancels Program on Mafia in USSR *[Moscow International]* 40
Journalists Prompt Charity for Unemployed *[Moscow TV]* 41
Rumors of Churbanov's Release Denied *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 13 Sep]* 41
CPSU Secretariat Session Reported *[PRAVDA 13 Sep]* 41
Soviet Peace Committee Holds Plenum *[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]* 43
Reforming Communist Leaders Interviewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 12 Sep]* 44
Ignatenko Discusses Letters to Gorbachev *[TASS]* 45

Economic

Shatalin Details Economic Problems *[Moscow TV]* 46
Silayev Interviewed on 500 Days Program *[TRUD 8 Sep]* 48
Privatization of State Assets Viewed *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 6 Sep]* 51
New Procurement Prices for Tobacco Set *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 9 Sep]* 53
Increases Reported in Tobacco Production *[Moscow Radio]* 54
Government To Boost Cigarette Production *[IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]* 54
First Independent International Bank Announced *[Moscow International]* 54

Agriculture

Defense Ministry Units Transport Crops *[Moscow Radio]* 54
Flawed Distribution Wastes Tomatoes, Melons *[Moscow Television]* 54
Goods Offered as Incentive for Grain Suppliers *[PRAVDA 15 Sep]* 55

Scientific

Researchers Protest Academy of Science Decree *[TASS]* 55
Academy Official Praises Presidential Decree *[TASS]* 56

Military

General Cites Decline in Military Prestige *[TASS]* 56
Decree on Reformation of Political Organs *[KRASNAYA ZVEDA]* 57
General Outlines Military Training Reforms
[Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ 6 Sep] 57
Expert Group Favors USSR Control of Military *[KRASNAYA ZVEDA 13 Sep]* 58
Shlyaga Reports on CPSU Status in Military *[KRASNAYA ZVEDA 13 Sep]* 59
Troop Movements Leave Questions Unanswered *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 15 Sep]* 59
Defense Workers Form Trade Unions *[KRASNAYA ZVEDA 15 Sep]* 61

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltics

Estonian Supreme Soviet Raises Meat, Milk Prices *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Savisaar Views KGB Activities, Price Increases *[Tallinn TV]* 62
Savisaar Attends Estonian Police School Opening *[IZVESTIYA 11 Sep]* 63
Anti-Russian Bias Seen in Estonian Housing Law *[IZVESTIYA 11 Sep]* 63
Latvia Signs Cooperation Accord With RSFSR *[Moscow Radio]* 64

Latvia, Armenia Sign Economic Agreement *[Riga Radio]* 64
Latvian Assembly Reviews Constitution *[TASS]* 64
Latvian Supreme Council Debates Draft Laws *[Riga Radio]* 64
Kezbers Examines Army Support for Latvian Party *[Riga International]* 65
Kezbers To Lead Party *[Riga International]* 65
Ventspils Rally Protests City Soviet Decisions *[PRAVDA 14 Sep]* 65
Armored Vehicles Surround Sites in Vilnius *[Vilnius Radio]* 65
Lithuanian 18 Sep Supreme Council Reported *[Vilnius Radio]* 66
CPSU Politburo's Shenin Visits Vilnius 14 Sep *[PRAVDA 15 Sep]* 66
Says Party Loyal to Marx *[TASS]* 66
Pro-CPSU Lithuanian Party Congress Ends *[Vilnius International]* 67
Former Lithuanian Prisoners Issue Appeal *[Vilnius International]* 67

RSFSR

Coverage on RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings 67
Armed Forces Discussed 17 Sep *[Moscow Radio]* 67
Military Relationship Viewed *[Moscow Radio]* 67
Reportage of RSFSR Constituent Congress 68
Komsomol Chief Gives Address *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 8 Sep]* 68
Marxist Group Presents Views *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 9 Sep]* 69
Politburo Urges Social Renewal *[PRAVDA 16 Sep]* 71
Delegates Polled on Issues *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 7 Sep]* 72
Silayev Examines Difficulties for '500 Days' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 18 Sep]* 73
Silayev Visits Arkhangelsk 13 Sep *[Moscow Radio]* 74
RSFSR Trade Unions Chairman Outlines Aims *[Moscow TV]* 74
Peasant Party To Protect 'Sprititual Heritage' *[TASS]* 74
Kalugin Views People's Deputy Election Victory *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 37]* 74
Karelia Sends 'Ultimatum' to Yeltsin, Silayev *[Moscow Radio]* 75
Resignation of Leningrad Mayor Not Accepted *[Moscow Radio]* 76
Dzasokhov, Prokofyev Address Ideological Aktiv *[PRAVDA 15 Sep]* 76
Volgograd Area Parties Agree Joint Action Plan *[IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]* 76
Udmurtiya's Deputies Consider Sovereignty Issue *[TASS]* 77
Pskov Obkom First Secretary Relieved of Duties *[Moscow Radio]* 77
Kurgan Oblast Elects New First Secretary *[Moscow Radio]* 77
Winter Heating Shortfall Forseen in Russia *[IZVESTIYA 10 Sep]* 77
Saransk Soviet Meets To Discuss Housing Abuses *[Moscow Radio]* 78
Poor Catch, State Orders Pose Fishing Problems *[Moscow TV]* 78
Altay Kray Gasoline Shortages Reported *[Moscow Radio]* 79

Western Republics

'Democratic Platform of Belorussia' Established *[TASS]* 79
Belorussian Parliament Publishes Own Newspaper *[TRUD 15 Sep]* 79
Moldovian Meeting Protests Violence Against Druk *[TASS]* 79
Exodus From Party in Ukraine Discussed *[PRAVDA 13 Sep]* 79
'Destabilizing' Forces in Chernigov Banned *[IZVESTIYA 17 Sep]* 82
Rally Commemorates 1939 Ukraine Reunification *[Kiev Radio]* 82
Army Conscription Commission in Lvov Suspended *[Moscow TV]* 83
Lvov Resolution 'Attempt To Wreck Fall Draft' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Sep]* 83
Plenum Calls for Action, Asks for Instructions *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 83
Ternopol Oblast First Secretary Elected *[Moscow Radio]* 84
Ukrainian Higher Party Schools Reorganized *[PRAVDA 17 Sep]* 84
Nikolayev Shipyard Ceasing Warship Production *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 15 Sep]* 84
Uranium Wastes Said Contaminating Kirovograd *[Moscow TV]* 84

Caucasus

Interview With Azerbaijan's Gasanov Reported *[Istanbul MILLIYET 15 Sep]* 84
Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Speaks With Army Officers *[Moscow Radio]* 85
Geydar Aliyev on Azerbaijan Campaign Trail *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 85

Manukyan Briefs Supreme Soviet on Cabinet *[Yerevan International]* 86
Armenian Supreme Soviet Urges Hunger Strike End *[IZVESTIYA 18 Sep]* 86
Armenian Interior Ministry on Crime Situation *[Yerevan Radio]* 86
Tbilisi Demonstrators Demand Release of Activist 87
Picketing Continues 18 Sep *[TASS]* 87
Activist Released *[Moscow International]* 87
KGB Releases Statement *[TASS]* 87

Central Asia

Cases of Bubonic Plague Confirmed in Kazakhstan *[IZVESTIYA 14 Sep]* 87
Aralsk 'Plague' Kills One, Hospitalizes 340 *[Moscow International]* 88
New Kazakhstan News Agency Registered *[Moscow Radio]* 88
Tajik SSR Official Meets Iranian Visitor *[Dushanbe Radio]* 88
Islamic Institute Opens in Tajikistan *[Moscow TV]* 89
Turkmen Internal Affairs Minister Replaced *[IZVESTIYA 19 Sep]* 89
'Exodus' of Non-Uzbeks From Uzbekistan 'Growing' *[IZVESTIYA 12 Sep]* 89

Test Ban Group Assailed for 'Disinformation'

90SV0063A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 14 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by Colonel N. Petrushenko, USSR people's deputy: "0.34 Percent of the Truth—The Way I See the Future of the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Range"]

[Text] **To be understood correctly, I want to make a stipulation right away: I am a confirmed supporter of the nuclear-free world view. This puts me on common ground with the chairman of the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" public movement, USSR People's Deputy Olzhas Omarovich Suleymanov. It is another issue that puts us on different sides of the fence—our attitudes toward the fate of the Semipalatinsk test range, as well as toward the necessity of nuclear tests themselves.**

I received another confirmation of the same opinion when I met with Academician A. Sakharov, from his words that "a complete ban on nuclear testing would be inappropriate here." I quote here from his last interview, known to our readers as it was published in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. It really seems strange that the president of an antinuclear movement is ignoring the opinion of a humanitarian who was so very realistic in his evaluation of the correlation of world forces.

Neither does he take into account other no less convincing facts, for instance the U.S. 10-year nuclear program, for the realization of which Congress has allocated $250 billion. The last nuclear test in Nevada proves that the Americans are not going to put an end to the program. It was the fourth in a row and took place on 25 July of this year. And it is not the last in the series of tests.

It has already become obvious that O. Suleymanov supports the idea of a unilateral USSR moratorium on nuclear testing. But what do the country's leaders think about such ideas?

Where will we end up like that? In a dead end, maybe? Until this time the American side failed to respond to the USSR peacemaking measures with similar actions.

It looks as if Olzhas Omarovich stubbornly refuses to understand that closer contact with the test-range scientists would add momentum to the antinuclear movement and would make it possible to take a new step toward creating a perfect mechanism for controlling nuclear testing.

All means are being used in the fight against the test range, including disinformation. How was it possible to come out with such monstrous and unsubstantiated accusations as human beings being used as guinea pigs? And how can one treat the fact that certain very active participants in the antinuclear movement, after completing prison terms for murder, immediately demanded compensation from the test-range scientists for their ruined health on the TV and in the press? Or here is another "revelation": After one of the explosions, thousands of children developed nosebleeds, and 70,000 Semipalatinsk residents lost their water supply. Unfortunately, all these tales get widely publicized, and it is understandable that they may cause indignation. Some groups of workers even send donations to the antinuclear movement bank account.

As for the radiation situation at the test range and its vicinity, let me state some facts here that so far few readers are aware of.

The radiation situation map has been declassified. Background radiation levels at the range and especially around it are within normal limits. This can be proven by data of the non-agency commission headed by A. Tsyba, and by the results of soil tests carries out by independent laboratories. The representatives of the antinuclear movement know all this quite well and have agreed with the researchers' conclusions. They have not attempted to disprove the information. And one more thing: Every month, employees of the rayon Sanitary and Epidemiologic Station send 150 samples of soil, water, and produce from the areas bordering on the range to be analyzed in the oblast laboratories. And if the 250,000 tons of hay mowed annually on the territory of the range are radioactive, as movement activists insist, why have the laboratories then never uttered a word of concern?

There is one more argument that Olzhas Omarovich resorts to: The sensitivity of the measuring gauges at the test range has been intentionally lowered. What can we do to respond to such a serious accusation? We need to appeal to the Leningrad Procuracy to sue the authors of the allegation. But the Procuracy is tired of unfounded accusations. Besides, the DRG-01T gauge used at the range by myself and other deputies was working quite well. It did not fail either in the Kremlin or at the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" headquarters, or in the plane that took us to Semipalatinsk.

What they are still hiding from the public is not the "small doses," as Suleymanov claims, but the fact that all test explosions result in only 0.34 percent of the radiation to which a human being is constantly exposed. This fact is in accordance with the data of a UN scientific committee studying the effects of nuclear radiation. Who is responsible for the other 99.66 percent? The balance is given to us mostly by Mother Nature, as well as by our negligence. The results of a gamma mapping in Semipalatinsk are a graphic example of this. It was discovered that some streets there have a "background" hundreds of times stronger than that of the test-range wells. At the reinforcement plant, whose leaders had so strongly denounced the test range, they found reinforcement that is evidently radioactive. How can they hide all this?

As you know, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet deputies decided not to allow radioactive waste on the territory of the republic, a

decision that can very easily be considered purely emotional. But the problem was expressed, and it will reappear many times yet. In Kazakhstan alone there are almost 80,000 sources of radioactive waste. What should we do? Should we build special grounds to bury it? But hardly anyone would feel happy living next door to such a site.

The results of the first stage in test-range history—the period of surface and air test explosions—are a different matter. These results can and should be made public. Only one thing remains unclear: Why does the printed organ of the antinuclear movement—the IZBIRATEL [VOTER]—fail to display such an initiative? Can it be that such information might be of a disadvantage to those who try to stir up emotions?

My conviction is that the revival of nuclear energetics is inevitable. But as it is being temporarily rejected at present, we have to do some serious thinking about doing away with people's nuclear ignorance. For that we have a powerful scientific potential and technological capabilities, which can ensure the safety of facilities generating ionizing radiation. There are several thousand such facilities in Kazakhstan. The test range is only one of them, and it is not any more or less dangerous than others. But, as with all of them, it needs to be treated with respect. It is a facility that with time can become the pride of the republic, just as the test range in Nevada is the pride of many U.S. citizens.

Warsaw Pact Bids Farewell to GDR Officers

LD1809130790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1207 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—On Monday a meeting was held at the Warsaw Pact (WTO) Joint Armed Forces member states headquarters in Moscow to mark the departure of generals and officers of the GDR National People's Army (NPA) in connection with the conclusion of their service in the WTO military bodies. As is known this event is connected with the imminent unification of Germany.

For 35 years the WTO has existed on European soil as a guarantor of peace and security, Army General Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, noted in a speech to those gathered. He highly appraised the GDR NPA's contribution to strengthening the defense capacity of the allied countries, and to the development of friendship and cooperation between the fraternal armies. Moreover, the Soviet military commander stressed the important role played by NPA generals and officers in the joint activities of the Joint Armed Forces administrative bodies.

In their speeches representatives of the allied armies expressed the hope that the relations of friendship and military comradeship formed over the years of joint work with the German generals and officers will be maintained in the future as well, in the interests of strengthening peace and European security.

Major General Guenther Menger, Joint Armed Forces deputy chief of staff from the GDR NPA, spoke in response to the meeting's participants. He expressed the hope that the friendly ties between both countries and peoples will continue to develop for the good of universal peace and mutual cooperation.

Warsaw Treaty Interim Commission Opens Meeting

LD1809202790 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Smirnov]

[Text] Sofia September 18 TASS—A meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Interim Commission opened here on Tuesday.

The commission was set up to work out a new concept of the organisation. On the eve of the CSCE summit, the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee is expected to take a decision on the future of the organisation on the basis of the elaborated document.

Opening the meeting, Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Ye. Savov noted that a consensus has already been reached on a number of issues. Warsaw Treaty member-countries believe the union should be reorganised to increase its political character and stabilising potential. At the same time, he said, approaches to some problems still differ.

Soviet Delegate Comments on Warsaw CEMA Talks

LD1709224890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The leaders of the trade and industry chambers of the member-countries of the CEMA met in Warsaw today. Our correspondent Vladimir Mikhaylenko recorded this report in the economic chamber of the Polish Republic where this meeting is taking place:

[Mikhaylenko] In Warsaw old acquaintances and long-standing partners, in contrast with past years, are today talking in quite a different language. (?It is moving) toward purely business relations, but at the same time, there are many unknowns. What is certainly known is that colleagues from the GDR are not present at this table, says (Georgiy Nanoskiy) deputy general secretary of the Hungarian economic chamber. [passage omitted]

Vladislav Leonidoyich Malkevich, president of the USSR's Trade and Industry Chamber, is leading the delegation from our country at this meeting.

You know, the impression is forming that the politicians on this occasion have gone galloping ahead of the merchants and now, you are catching up on events. Will something result from this meeting?

[Malkevich] Nothing will result directly because the basic conditions to organize trade do not exist. Already the old conditions are not working and new ones have still not been created. No treaty exists between the Union and the republics so this means that it is unclear which deliveries will come via regional lines and which via Union lines, and most importantly, at whose expense. This has led to a paradoxical situation when there is practically no contracting for the coming year although it is the end of September. In essence, this is the ominous situation for enterprises in our country. A difficult moment. And most significantly, it is not known when this uncertainty will end.

TASS Reports on Ignatenko's 18 Sep Briefing

Al Faysal, Gorbachev Confer

LD1809132190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep—TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov reports from the USSR Foreign Ministry press center:

The resumption of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Saudi Arabia is not merely a protocol measure, but it opens up a path for cooperation in political, economic and cultural spheres. This was stated at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists held here today by Vitaliy Ignatenko, aide to the USSR president and head of his press service.

Reporting the details of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Prince Sa'ud Al Faysal, foreign minister of Saudi Arabia, Vitaliy Ignatenko noted that "yesterday can be regarded as the official day on which an accord was reached on resuming the exchange of diplomatic representatives at ambassador level" between the two states.

During the meeting, he said, matters relating to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait were discussed. The minister gave a high appraisal of the Soviet stance and stressed the coincidence of the approaches of the USSR and Saudi Arabia to this problem. At the same time, in Vitaliy Ignatenko's words, Sa'ud Al Faysal spoke "of the desirability of retaining a strong and powerful Iraq," and of its return "to the family of Arab peoples."

Israelis Meet With Gorbachev

LD1809153690 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev and two Israeli ministers "discussed the entire range of complex problems in the Middle East region" as well as "ways of containing the crisis in the Persian Gulf," presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko told a briefing here today.

Mikhail Gorbachev "briefed Israeli ministers on his summit with U.S. President George Bush and clarified his stance with respect to the Gulf crisis," Ignatenko said.

The Soviet president reminded the Israelis of the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference to discuss Middle East problems and begin the process of settlement in the region.

Such a conference would facilitate resolution of a set of problems in their interconnections, including the establishment of specific diplomatic relations with Israel," Ignatenko said.

Mikhail Gorbachev drew the attention of the Israeli ministers to Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's statement that "if the Israeli government continues settling Soviet emigrants on Arab territories, Arab leaders will call on the Soviet government to halt or cease the issue of permits to Soviet citizens to emigrate to Israel for permanent residence."

Mikhail Gorbachev noted that it was a serious matter, Ignatenko said. The Israeli ministers said that the Israeli prime minister had made assurances that Soviet Jews would not be settled outside Israel proper, even if this would entail "certain infringement of democratic rights and freedoms."

During the meeting the problem of a direct air link between the Soviet Union and Israel was discussed. "I must say that the absence of such a link costs us nearly half a billion U.S. dollars in losses every year," Ignatenko said.

Gorbachev's Union Treaty Stance

LD1809144390 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Adnrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev believes the Union treaty and the agreement on the economic union should be signed simultaneously, presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko told a briefing here today.

He recalled that there are different points of view on the issue. He said "Russia's point of view is that the main emphasis should be laid on the economic union between republics, and the Union treaty might be signed later."

Although it is not very essential, the president believes "it would be better, if the two documents are adopted simultaneously," Ignatenko said.

Speaking of the referendum on private property on land, proposed by the president on Monday [17 September], Ignatenko noted that "the parliament's task is to determine the time and conditions for holding a referendum on such an important issue as the land reform." It is now impossible to say "when such a referendum will be held," Ignatenko said.

Warsaw Pact, NATO Officials Discuss Europe

PM1809140790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent S. Tosunyan: "From Antagonism to Partnership"]

[Text] Vienna—Consultations have begun in Vienna between representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO states with a view to elaborating a joint declaration on relations between them. The first meeting took place 14 September in the USSR Embassy building. The Soviet delegation submitted its draft declaration for discussion.

The procedure for the further work of this new forum of the 23 countries belonging to the two military-political unions was also examined.

Ambassador Yu. Deryabin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry administration for security and cooperation in Europe, who heads the Soviet delegation, said in a talk with your IZVESTIYA correspondent:

"It is a case of preparing an out of the ordinary, qualitatively new document of European policy designed to demonstrate and reinforce existing relations between the military-political unions of Europe which have opposed each other for over 40 years.

Reflecting the transformation of the unions, the declaration should be an important step for renouncing entrenched bloc approaches and stereotypes and should mark a new stage on the path of the formation of an all-European supra-bloc structure of security and cooperation.

The idea of the declaration, which would have seemed unreal just a few years ago, marks the profound and positive changes on the continent, the head of the Soviet delegation continued. That this idea has indeed ripened is borne out by the decisions of the June conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Moscow and the July session of the NATO Council at summit level in London. Reacting positively to NATO's readiness to elaborate a declaration on relations with the Warsaw Pact countries, M.S. Gorbachev set forth our vision of this document back on 14 July in a talk with NATO Secretary General M. Woerner.

And now the time has come to shift the discussion of these questions to the practical plane, to begin the collective elaboration of the joint draft of the declaration. The group of 23 in Vienna must engage in this in the next few weeks. In the event of success—and to all appearances there is a common interest in this—the document could be signed in Paris during the all-European summit conference to be held in November, becoming an important component of the "Paris package." Its all-European context could be confirmed in the appropriate way in the final document of the Paris meeting.

Without anticipating the end result of the talks which have begun, I shall say that as we see it the central element of the declaration should be the following provision: The members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO no longer view each other as adversaries but come out for all-embracing close cooperation on a qualitatively new basis and further headway along the path of disarmament and the expansion of contacts along all lines, including the military field.

World Food Council Chief Conducts Moscow Visit

LD1309211890 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee Boris Volodin received today Executive Director of the World Food Council Gerald Trant.

They discussed the Soviet Union's participation in the work of this U.N. organisation, as well as the world food situation.

PRAVDA Writer Assesses Changing World Order

PM1909102390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev under the "Observer to Reader" rubric: "Enemies or Partners?"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "As is known, our country's Armed Forces are now being reduced 'to reasonable sufficiency.' Soviet troops are being withdrawn from East European countries. The socialist camp no longer exists as such. This term is not even used now. The Warsaw Pact is on the verge of collapse. The USSR's leaders declare that they 'no longer regard the United States as our enemy' (which is undoubtedly gratifying).

"In my opinion, however, the facts give no grounds for euphoria. For the United States is not only not reducing its arms but, on the contrary, is building them up. It is not abandoning SDI. NATO exists, and there are no signs yet that that military organization is intending to disband itself. The GDR has already been almost swallowed up by the Federal Republic and will soon be in NATO (as is known, with the consent of the USSR leadership). U.S. military bases throughout the world exist as they always have done. A natural question arises: How is all this to be understood? V.P. Dontsov, teacher, Kiev City."

There are undoubtedly no grounds for euphoria. The transition to a new world order based on the supremacy of international law is taking place with difficulty, with disruptions, with relapses into strong-arm politics. A fresh example of this is provided by the very acute military-political crisis in the Persian Gulf region. But I will say frankly: I cannot agree with your overall view of the processes developing in the world. The present situation and the prospects for the future do not strike me personally as so gloomy. Along with us, the United States also is reducing armed forces and arms. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has already been almost fulfilled, and a treaty on the reduction of the two countries' strategic offensive arms and a treaty on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe are being drawn up and, evidently, will be signed this year. Our measures for the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces have not gone unanswered either. Washington has announced a plan under which U.S. military spending will decline by 10 percent over five years, and the Armed Forces will be reduced by 25 percent.

I see that the events in East Europe are of profound concern to many PRAVDA readers. Yes, the changes in

that region, which is directly adjacent to our borders, are dramatic and contradictory. But we will proceed from the premise that this process, including the unification of Germany, is historically determined and that attempts to slow it down would be not only useless but also fraught with very grave consequences. The changes in East Europe mean that the distorted dogmatic model of socialism which became firmly established there not without our assistance is receding into the past. In this sense they are consonant with our perestroyka. Of course, it is a somehow lonely feeling to be without a "shield" in the form of the "socialist community." But let us ponder—how strong was this community, how reliable the "shield"? For the regimes which ruled in the majority of those countries were "blown away by the wind," you might say, as soon as the prospect of Soviet tanks' being used to support them disappeared.

A world built not on confrontation between the "two systems" but on regard for states' mutual interests and on their more sensible conjugation is taking shape before our eyes in the struggle of contradictory forces. The path to this new world is not easy. But the primary matter depends on us: Both our own future and the prospects for the world's civilized development are directly linked with whether we are able to extricate the country from the present crisis and find economic efficiency and political and social stability.

United States & Canada

Further on Former President Reagan's Visit

Says Cold War 'Vanquished'

PM1809144190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Talks With the USSR President"]

[Text] On 17 September USSR President M.S. Gorbachev met in the Kremlin with former U.S. President R. Reagan.

In the course of a thorough and frank exchange of opinions, which took place in an unconstrained and friendly atmosphere, M.S. Gorbachev familiarized R. Reagan with the progress in implementing the economic and political reform in the Soviet Union. For his part R. Reagan spoke in this connection about certain features of U.S. economic life.

During the talks the state of the mutually advantageous cooperation and partnership between the USSR and the United States, which the recent Helsinki summit meeting raised to a new level, and the prospects for their development were discussed. M.S. Gorbachev noted R. Reagan's constructive role in the positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations and the fact that the former U.S. president had been in on the start of the trend toward normalizing and improving them.

The "cold war" has now been vanquished. There are grounds for believing that in the foreseeable future we will achieve a major result in reaching accords on 50 percent reductions in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms.

Both sides emphasized the historic significance of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, which was signed by the two countries' leaders in 1987 and initiated the process of real nuclear disarmament.

R. Reagan pointed out that the processes of perestroyka enjoy sympathy and support in U.S. political and public circles. At the same time the democratization of life in the USSR and practical steps in the sphere of asserting new forms of economic and political activity are helping to destroy former stereotypes in the United States and giving rise among the U.S. public to a feeling of friendship and to readiness to develop all-around contacts and exchanges.

R. Reagan pointed out that there were periods of great internal tension and instability at turning points in the history of the United States itself, but these painful periods were successfully overcome by the American people because disagreements were resolved in a way satisfactory to the whole of society and, most importantly, in the final analysis reason prevailed over emotions. "I am sure that the Soviet Union will overcome the period of instability because, as a result of its reforms, it has embarked on the correct path," Reagan declared.

Present at the talks on the U.S. side were U.S. Ambassador Matlock, and Ryan, [not further identified]; Vaynberg [Chairman of the USSR Association of Joint Ventures] and, on the Soviet side, A.F. Dobrynin.

There was an absorbing exchange of opinions on questions connected with the development of the situation in Europe and with the situation in the Persian Gulf and on other urgent international problems.

Delivers Speech 17 Sep

PM1809155190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks With Reagan"]

[Text] On 17 September A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met in the Kremlin with former U.S. President R. Reagan, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

During talks which were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and amicability Lukyanov familiarized the guest with the main areas of the implementation of the economic and political reforms in the Soviet Union and the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Reagan's constructive role in the positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations was noted.

Reagan declared that the processes of perestroyka and democratization under way in the USSR arouse great interest in U.S. political and public circles, help to destroy former stereotypes, and strengthen readiness to develop all-around contacts and exchanges.

There was an absorbing exchange of opinions on questions connected with the situation in the Persian Gulf and on a number of other international problems.

J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, participated in the talks.

On the same day R. Reagan had a meeting at the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee.

People in the Soviet Union estimate at its true worth your contribution to the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, Committee Chairman A.S. Dzasokhov pointed out, welcoming the guest.

Reagan began his speech to the gathering with an American fairytale whose chief character slept for 20 years and recognized nothing around him when he woke up. If this were to happen in our time, the former president continued, he would recognize nothing, even if he had barely dozed: Changes are happening so fast. Who could have thought it possible even quite recently that the heads of the U.S. and Soviet foreign policy departments would issue a joint statement in connection with the situation in the Persian Gulf?

The speech devoted much space to the reforms in the Soviet Union. The whole world is following them attentively, Reagan said. While evaluating positively the processes of democratization in our country and the determination to put the economy on a market footing, he predicted difficulties on this path.

Difficulties of growth await you, the guest said. It will take the courage of a great people to overcome them. But I am sure that you will succeed in negotiating this period.

Speaking about his vision of the future of Soviet-U.S. relations, he voiced confidence in their progress. It cannot be ruled out that we will land together on distant stars, Reagan suggested.

Meets RSFSR's Yeltsin

LD1809151390 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today met former U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Welcoming him, Yeltsin said Soviet people appreciate Reagan's contribution to the positive development of Soviet-U.S. relations during his tenure as President.

As requested by Reagan, Yeltsin briefed him on the substance of the Russian economic reform programme and on related republican bills, especially the bill on ownership, which provides for private ownership, including that of land.

Reagan, for his part, spoke about the basic principles of the U.S. economy, stressing the main role of private entrepreneurs.

Most of the time was spent exchanging opinions on the more effective stimulants of economic progress.

Leaves Moscow 19 Sep

LD1909083390 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan and his wife today left the Soviet Union.

Reagan visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of President Mikhail Gorbachev, which was extended to him during their meeting in San Francisco last June.

TASS Notes U.S. Law, Economic Conference

Lukyanov Discusses Ties

LD1809171690 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) [Lukyanov] received a group of U.S. lawyers, led by former Secretary of State William Rogers, in the Kremlin today.

The lawyers arrived in the Soviet Union to attend the Soviet-U.S. conference "Law and Economic Cooperation".

Lukyanov spoke about the parliament's activity related to political and economic reforms in the country and efforts to improve ethnic relations and build a rule-of-law state.

Rogers and other lawyers said perestroyka in the Soviet Union and new political thinking evoked widespread interest among the U.S. public.

Lukyanov and the U.S. lawyers pointed to the importance of legislative regulation and law for solving social and economic problems and deepening international cooperation.

The sides also discussed Soviet-U.S. relations and a number of topical international problems.

The meeting was held in an open and well-meaning atmosphere.

Ryzhkov Addresses Conference

LD1909085690 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Borisov, Ivan Ivanov, and Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Pointing to the need to create an effective legal basis for Soviet-American economic cooperation, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov addressed the Soviet-American conference "Law and Economic Cooperation", which opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses today.

The prime minister said that commercial and economic ties still remain a weak link in the chain of Soviet-American relations. No fundamental changes have been made. As a reason, he cites the fact that the United States has yet to grant the Soviet Union most-favoured nation treatment.

Dwelling on measures for the decentralisation and liberalisation of Soviet economic activity, the prime minister said that the purpose of these steps is "to ensure the openness of the Soviet economy, to create conditions for vigorous participation by Soviet enterprises, regions and Union republics in the international division of labour."

The Soviet prime minister said that over a number of years the range of Soviet-American cooperation, despite the complex political situation, has consistently expanded, now encompassing numerous transnational concerns of key importance. This applies, specifically, to ecology, bilateral contacts in combatting international terrorism, consultations on ensuring safety of civilian aviation and cooperation in combatting narcotic trafficking.

Gorbachev Sends Greetings

LD1909102390 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message of greetings to the participants in the Soviet-U.S. conference "Law and Economic Cooperation."

The message reads:

"I welcome the U.S. and Soviet lawyers who have assembled in Moscow for a representative meeting. Your conference is one more piece of evidence of positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations, which, as was stated during our talks with President George Bush, are being enriched with a new constructive content in many vital areas.

"Overcoming the inertia of the cold war and ideology of revenge, new political thinking is opening an opportunity for a solid and just world order, based on the human and cultural values of law. By deepening mutual understanding and contacts, lawyers in our two countries can make a meaningful joint contribution to the utilisation of this unique opportunity, which is saving humanity.

"The energetic development of fully-fledged Soviet-U.S. economic ties is overdue in present-day conditions. These ties, which are mutually beneficial and promising, will undoubtedly serve as a stable material foundation for boosting conference and carrying on successful cooperation in the political, military-strategic and humanitarian areas. All this requires a reliable and dynamic legal infrastructure, the stimulation of large-scale enterprising initiatives and long-term business relations.

"I wish success to the conference and fruitful communication among all of its participants to the benefit of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States, to the benefit of the entire international community."

U.S. Commerce Secretary Heads Trade Visit

News Conference Held 13 Sep

PM1809142790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Demchenko: "American Businessmen Consider Our Affairs Not So Bad"]

[Text] A news conference of members of the presidential business development mission, headed by U.S. Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, was held on 13 September at the American trade center, which has not yet been officially opened.

As already reported in our newspaper (No. 255), the mission comprises the heads of 15 American corporations and companies engaged in business in the sphere of the prospecting, extraction, and transportation of minerals, the production of construction materials, the creation of state-of-the-art communications systems, and magazine publishing houses. During the several days of their visit to our country the members of the mission met with members of the Soviet and republic governments, representatives of business circles, and the mayors of Moscow and Leningrad. They came to the news conference immediately after an almost three-hour-long discussion with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

It was the unanimous opinion that the mission had accomplished its task. The representatives of American business circles noted the enthusiasm of both sides in the sphere of developing relations and strengthening cooperation. Specific deals concluded, projects examined, and proposals receieved were cited. For example, D. Andreas, head of a company producing agricultural products, stated his readiness to go over to supplying milk, meat, barley products, and so forth. W. Esrey, president of a company specializing in telecommunications, stated that the United States has allocated major credit for the acquisition of equipment for a joint enterprise, one of the participants in which is the Moscow Central Telegraph. A new communications switchboard based on the latest technology will be created there. Its standard is indicated by the fact that the American side is having to seek the lifting of some COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] restrictions, which ban the transfer of certain kinds of machinery and equipment to the countries of East Europe.

This fact alone reminds people of what a serious evolution has been effected in relations between our countries of late. In noting the profound changes taking place in the Soviet Union the American businessmen stressed the mutual benefit derived from Western investment in the Soviet economy and the great competence and reliability of Soviet partners.

Answering a question from an NBC correspondent as to whether the Soviet Union needs powerful assistance, something analogous to the Marshall Plan, in order to become an effective partner, the U.S. Commerce secretary said:

"Not one of the people I spoke to asked for assistance. Discussion was solely about cooperation and trade."

D. Andreas, the agricultural corporation leader, added:

"I think that fair support, that is to say, foreign investment in the economy, will help the Soviet Union. That will do more here than the usual kind of assistance we give developing countries."

Foreign journalists asked whether it was not risky making investments in the Soviet economy now. In the opinion of the members of the mission, the risk is small and there is a real hope that it will be reduced still further within a few months.

As was noted at the news conference, the fact that the Soviet Union's economy is experiencing serious problems still does not allow one to talk about loss of control

over the situation, hopelessness, let alone complete collapse. Robert Mosbacher stated that, in his opinion, the Soviet economy has the potential to survive. It is necessary only to start immediately the planned reforms, in the implementation of which the American side is ready to take part as much as it can.

Highlights Trade Opportunities

LD1809100890 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Mostovets]

[Text] New York September 18 TASS—The Soviet Union displays great interest in developing trade and economic cooperation with the United States, said U.S. Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher in an interview with the ABC and CNN TV companies.

This interest opens broad opportunities for the operation of American companies on the Soviet market. The secretary, together with a group of U.S. businessmen, has just returned from his visit to Moscow.

Now that the USSR has begun its transition to a market economy, the United States can help it in achieving this goal, Mosbacher stressed. He added that this assistance could include retooling the transport and communications systems and supplying technology to develop the key economic sectors, including the oil industry.

The expansion of this important economic sector will enable the USSR to boost oil exports as a chief hard currency earner. Some of this currency will be used to pay for deliveries of equipment and technology.

American companies hoping to earn profits in the USSR should be interested in this cooperation, the secretary stressed.

Mosbacher said that the development of Soviet-American trade and economic relations would be mutually beneficial, since Soviet orders would be filled by factories in the United States, and manufactured goods would be sold in the Soviet Union also by U.S. companies.

In addition to netting profits, companies would win a sizeable foothold on the vast Soviet market.

Praising the results of his visit to Moscow, Mosbacher pointed to the importance of the Soviet decision to switch to a market economy.

All people with whom he met—cabinet members, republican leaders, city mayors and trade union officials—were sure that this transition is necessary, he said.

Despite a long period of rivalry and even animosity between the two states, Mosbacher said, the Soviet people have preserved a feeling of great respect for Americans.

"I left Moscow with the same feeling of respect for Soviet people," Mosbacher noted.

U.S. Business Group Awards Gorbachev UN Medal

LD1909085290 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] New York (United Nations) September 19 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has been awarded the medal of the U.S. public organisation "Business Council for the United Nations." The medal is awarded to people who contribute conspicuously to the U.N. task of "ridding future generations of war calamities."

"The Soviet president was decorated with the medal for his contribution to lasting peace," the council declared. "Gorbachev's policy of glasnost and perestroyka paves the way to East-West dialogue, prompts states to adhere to common positions and to create a climate of international cooperation. The Soviet president's course affects the peoples of all the world," the council stated.

Accepting the award on behalf of the Soviet president at a festive ceremony in New York, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said: "This award shows that the Soviet Union's new foreign policy is rightly associated with the strengthening of U.N. authority and potential. The 'cold war' has ended and the world has entered a post-confrontational period. The forthcoming 45th session of the U.N. General Assembly will strengthen, we are sure, the fundamental change that has occurred in international affairs."

"We regard the awarding of your medal to President Gorbachev as a token of your support of perestroyka," Petrovskiy said. "It is common knowledge that business people prefer not to make compliments for the sake of compliments. In business every step has a practical meaning. And if American businessmen pay their due to the mastermind of perestroyka, this means they have faith in it, in its positive potential."

Petrovskiy urged politicians to exert efforts to overcome the existing unnatural disproportion of economic relations. "The Soviet Union is now living through the most difficult stage of its transition to a market economy. We have reached a crucial phase in the reform of our economy. A decision will be passed shortly to denationalise the national economy.

A fundamentally new economic system is emerging in the Soviet Union. Its mainspring will be economic interest and business initiative. In laying the foundation for a market, we are endeavouring at the same time to stabilise the economy and expect to draw on mutually beneficial foreign investments.

The Soviet Union is convinced that the success of perestroyka serves global interests. The fact that business people are on our 'team' with us makes us even more confident. The United Nations and its member-states

are able to promote the new concept of internationalism as a guarantee of mankind's progress and prosperity," Petrovskiy said.

U.S. Air Force General's Disclosures, Firing Noted

General Tells Gulf Military Plans

PM1809124990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by A. Blinov under the general heading: "Persian Gulf: Dangerous Exacerbation of Situation"]

[Text] The U.S. press is discussing in detail possible scenarios for military actions against Iraq. On Sunday THE WASHINGTON POST carried a detailed interview on this topic with General Michael Dugan, U.S. Air Force chief of staff. As Dugan disclosed, the high command of the U.S. Armed Forces—the Joint Chiefs of Staff—has examined possible methods of using military force against Iraq and reached the conclusion that the most effective method of action is to deliver massive bombing strikes against Iraqi territory.

Gen. Dugan told THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent that the Pentagon's planning organs had earlier drawn up a list of Iraqi bombing targets with a "traditional" approach. They included Iraq airfields, air defense systems, missile bases, enterprises for the production of ammunition and chemical arms, nuclear facilities, oil refineries and power systems. In the last two weeks this list has been revised. The new list of targets places the emphasis on hitting "key centers," above all on bombing the location of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and his family. According to Dugan, it is planned thereby to "decapitate" the Iraqi leadership.

Fired by Defense Secretary

PM1809153590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Blinov: "Persian Gulf: General Sacked"]

[Text] Washington—An unsanctioned newspaper interview has cost General Michael Dugan, chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force, his command post. U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney announced Monday his decision to remove Dugan from the highest post in the U.S. Air Force.

In an interview for THE WASHINGTON POST published Sunday (we reported it yesterday) Dugan spoke about plans for a massive air strike against Iraq to be carried out by the U.S. Air Force in the event of military action against that country. In his words, strikes would be carried out against a substantial number of military and economic targets, but above all against the center of Baghdad. It is planned to bomb the residences of Saddam Husayn, president of Iraq, his family, and his mistress.

Cheney said at a news conference in the Pentagon that he learned the content of the interview by reading it in the newspaper. After summoning the general, he obtained confirmation from him that he had given the interview to journalists, and told him there and then that he was being relieved of his post.

In Cheney's words, Dugan had behaved "indiscreetly" in a complex situation related to the Persian Gulf crisis and had made an error of judgment. "It is not our custom to publicly discuss questions such as likely military operation options and the choice of potential bombing targets," the secretary of defense said. He noted that Dugan had infringed the code of mutual relations between troop categories by assigning a special role to the Air Force.

President Bush, speaking at a meeting with journalists from regional publications, confirmed that he backs the defense secretary's decision. At the same time administration leaders did not refute the actual content of the general's interview.

Soviet-U.S. Memorandum on Nuclear Waste Signed

LD1809222790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Excerpts] Vienna, 18 Sep (TASS)—The memorandum on USSR-United States cooperation in restoring the environment and treating waste, which has been signed here today, is aimed at solving a wide range of ecological problems connected with the activities of the nuclear energy establishments. Heads of the Soviet and U.S. delegations at the current session of the IAEA general conference in Vienna V.F. Konovalov, the USSR minister of atomic power and industry, and W. Hanson Moore, the U.S. deputy secretary for energy, have signed the document on behalf of the governments of both countries. [passage omitted]

The problem of the treatment and disposal of the nuclear waste and deactivation of the equipment of the nuclear power plants taken out of commission today belongs to a number of the most pressing problems ensuring the further harmless development of nuclear energy, said V.F. Konovalov in conversation with the TASS correspondent. With all the existing differences in approaches and methods, we are sure that with common efforts we can achieve a quick and effective solution to the problem in question.

We regard the activities of Soviet scientists and achievements of Soviet science in the sphere of nuclear energy with great respect, W. Hanson Moore pointed out in return. The USSR and the United States share many common problems in this sphere, including such an important one as the treatment of nuclear waste. The further development of mutual cooperation, he stressed, will help to speed up progress in achieving the stated aims, and in this respect will be useful not only for both countries but for other peoples as well.

Estonian Leader, Foreign Minister To Visit U.S.

LD1709155290 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Text] At the meeting in July between Republic of Estonia Foreign Minister Lennart Meri and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, it was agreed that a systematic information exchange is essential to both sides. In connection with the political processes taking place in central and East Europe and—in particular—with preparing and signing the document to provide for German reunification, a need became evident to discuss at a top level Estonia's return to the family of European peoples and legal, political, and economic problems associated with this. In the course of exchanging opinions, the need became apparent for leader of the government Edgar Savissar and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri to visit Washington.

The Foreign Ministry has been authorized to announce that chairman of the government Edgar Savisaar and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri have gratefully accepted the invitation to consult with the U.S. side. The complex domestic political situation reigning in Estonia makes it impossible for the visit to take place at the appointed time; the exact time of the visit will be agreed upon during the forthcoming week, through the usual channels.

U.S., Soviet News Agency Hold Talks

AP Delegation Arrives

LD1509093690 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 15 TASS—An official delegation of the board of directors of the U.S. ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency arrived in Moscow today.

The delegation, which includes the heads of U.S. leading publishing houses and radio broadcasting corporations, and editors from a number of newspapers, is led by AP President Louis Boccardi and chairman of the board of directors William Keating.

The delegation will have a series of meetings with Soviet leaders, politicians, economists and mass media officials. It is also to sign a renewed agreement with the TASS news agency.

Agreement with TASS Signed

LD1909101490 Moscow TASS in English 0954 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—An agreement between the news agency of the Soviet Union, TASS, and the U.S. news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS was signed in Moscow today. It will enable Soviet and foreign organisations in the USSR to receive via TASS the latest financial and economic information of AP-Dow Jones services.

The agreement was signed by TASS General Director Leonid P. Kravchenko and President and General [word indistinct] of the ASSOCIATED PRESS Louis D. Boccardi.

China

Newly Appointed Ambassador to China Interviewed

OW1909010390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Interview with Nikolay Solovyev, newly appointed ambassador to China, by unidentified reporter in Moscow; date not given—Solovyev's comments recorded in Russian fading into Mandarin translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Listeners: As we have reported, the Soviet president has appointed Nikolay Solovyev as Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China. He will set out for Beijing to assume this post on 18 September.

Solovyev was born in 1931 into an engineer's family. He graduated in 1957 from the International Relations Institute in Moscow. While studying at this institute, he engaged exclusively in the study of questions related to Japan. After graduation, he began working at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He first served as an advisor in the Soviet Embassy in Japan and later as a high-ranking diplomatic official. In the past few years, he was Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plentipotentiary to Japan.

The following are remarks made by Solovyev to our station's reporter in a park in front of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Building:

[Solovyev] Honestly, it was somewhat surprising that I was appointed to assume the post of ambassador to China as I have dealt continuously with Japan for the past 39 years. To me, however, this is a very glorious job with heavy responsibilities. China is a big country and our neighbor. It always has been a great honor for a Soviet diplomat to serve as ambassador to China. As everyone knows, Soviet-Chinese relations were normalized completely when Gorbachev visited China in May 1989.

[Reporter] What are your comments on the development of relations between the two countries since then?

[Solovyev] Of course, substantive changes have appeared during this period in the relations between the two countries. Both economic and cultural relations have developed. Talks have been held on major issues. However, most important is the fact that on both sides there are many people and organizations that have played a role in these relations. This is important because the more people take part in the development of relations between the two countries, the firmer these relations will become, and the more the people of the two countries will trust each other. However, it is the opinion of all that

the potential of Soviet-Chinese cooperation is far from being fully exploited, especially in the economic field.

[Reporter] What do you think is the obstacle in this regard?

[Solovyev] The obstacle to the development of Soviet-Chinese economic relations is primarily the difficult economic situation of the Soviet Union. We are now destroying the old and constructing the new. For the new mechanism to work, all our lines should coordinate with one another, and this requires some time. In addition, there still are differences between the two countries concerning some political issues, but this is not essential. What is essential, Solovyev said, is that neither side stresses the differences. Both are striving to overcome the differences on the basis of maintaining their common ground. It is from this standpoint that I will deal with my work in China. We should seek common ground linking our two countries. Of course, the two countries have different histories, cultures, and traditions, and it will not do if we do not take this into consideration. However, any difference is surmountable under the guidance of the common thinking of building a firm foundation for friendship, neighborliness, and cooperation.

[Reporter] Last, I wish to ask a question: How do you spend your leisure time?

[Solovyev] Regretfully, I have very little leisure time. However, when I have time to spare, I enjoy listening to light music. When I was young, I attended a piano class in a music school for two years. It was before World War II. In 1941, the difficult period began after the outbreak of the war. We had a big family and experienced great economic difficulties. I had no choice but to stop studying music. Later when I was studying in high school, I was very fond of jazz. After I entered college, I organized a 10-member orchestra composed of my classmates and me. We played at college student soirees. In the orchestra, I learned to play the accordion and trombone. Now, if I have time, I sit down and play the piano to amuse my wife and children.

My son has inherited my career. He has graduated from the International Relations Institute. As an expert in the study of Japanese affairs, he has worked with a news agency for more than a year. My daughter is a student of the language and literature department of the University of Moscow.

'Optimistic' Forecast for Sino-Soviet Talks

OW1909010990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Commentary by Kozlov from the weekly special program "Scope"]

[Text] We are going to talk about a meeting in Moscow between the Soviet and Chinese delegations. The topic being discussed at the meeting is measures to enhance trust. Radio Moscow's military observer Kozlov has the following comments on this:

The Moscow meeting is a signal in the process of developing Soviet-Chinese relations following last year's summit in Beijing. It involves such important and subtle sphere as military detente along the border. How many troops are to be cut in the reduction of Armed Forces? What categories of Armed Forces specifically are involved in the reduction? When and how is the reduction to take place? How is the reduction to be supervised? These are the questions being discussed at the Moscow meeting. They are very difficult questions, but there is reason for an optimistic forecast. As pointed out by Kireyev, head of the Soviet delegation to the meeting and chief of the Socialist Countries of Asia Administration of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, both sides certainly are taking a realistic and constructive attitude, and the meeting participants are trying to discuss calmly the problems that have arisen and to seek solutions acceptable to both sides.

RSFSR-PRC Province Relations Reviewed

LD1809204290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Questions of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations and ties between the Russian Federation and the provinces of the PRC, in particular the Inner Mongolia autonomous region, were at the center of attention of a conversation on 18 September between I.T. Gavrilov, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and Bu He, deputy secretary of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. The guest is in the USSR at the invitation of the Russian parliament.

It was noted with satisfaction that the policy of radical economic reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union and the increase in economic independence and broadening individual regions' rights opens broad prospects for mutually advantageous cooperation between the PRC and the RSFSR. The general opinion was expressed of the importance of the dymamically developing ties in various spheres. Reference was made to the readiness of the Governments of the Russian Federation and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region to render all-around support for and assistance to these ties.

A final document on the results of the talks was signed.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Receives Japanese Businessmen

PM1909100590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kremlin"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev received in the Kremlin 18 September R. Sasakawa, prominent Japanese public figure, who is heading a large group of businessmen visiting the USSR to study opportunities for expanding Japanese-Soviet trade and economic cooperation.

During the conversation he said that the Japanese people were distressed to hear of the Chernobyl catastrophe. To speed up the elimination of the aftereffects of this tragedy, Mr. Sasakawa had decided to give tens of millions of dollars for the construction of hospitals in Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. In addition, mobile laboratories will be supplied to the affected regions free of charge to monitor the whole population, first and foremost children.

On behalf of the Soviet people M.S. Gorbachev thanked R. Sasakawa for this noble action.

Taking part in the conversation were T. Sato, president of the Japanese-Soviet trade association, A.N. Yakovlev, and A.I. Volskiy.

Japanese Defense Paper Highlights Improved Ties

LD1809090190 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo September 18 TASS—The Japanese cabinet today endorsed the white paper on defence leaving out any mention of the "Soviet military menace"

Citing the Soviet Union's substantial cuts in the Armed Forces, the authors of the Defence Agency's paper note that due to the Soviet Union's domestic difficulties and the international environment the Soviet Union's attack on other states is improbable.

The white paper welcomes political changes in the Soviet Union and the democratisation in East European countries. It states that these events mark a historic turning point, promoting the onset of an era of East-West dialogue and cooperation.

Noting progress in Soviet-American negotiations on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, the authors of the report state that the spread of sophisticated arms only enhances the likelihood of a world conflict.

At the same time, the Defence Agency points to the danger of a "vacuum in defences" resulting from the spreading of detente throughout the world.

The section devoted to the situation in the Asian-Pacific region contains rather cautious appraisals. The situation in Asia is described as uncertain due to the persistance of a territorial the Soviet-Japanese territorial dispute and instability on the Korean peninsula. [sentence as received]

Referring to the "northern territories", the authors of the paper adhere to the official Tokyo stand that the presence of unresolved issues in relations between the USSR and Japan interferes with achieving a detente in the Asian-Pacific region similar to that in Europe.

Commentary on U.S. Troops Stationed in ROK

SK1909075190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 8 Sep 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] It was in August 1945 that the U.S. troops came to South Korea to occupy it. Forty five years have passed since then. However, the U.S. troops still remain in South Korea today.

Concerning this, station commentator (Igor Yovizhev) says:

This means that the overseas stationing of military forces is being prolonged to a certain degree. Washington seems to have begun realizing this fact. Otherwise, how else can the Pentagon's plan to reduce U.S. troops stationed in South Korea by several thousands in the near future be explained?

Nevertheless, this is only a plan. Reality is that nearly 40,000 U.S. soldiers are still in some 40 U.S. military bases in South Korea. However, they have found themselves in a not-so-cozy position in recent years. This is because South Korea's growing national awareness has given rise to the voices opposing the stationing of foreign troops—U.S. troops to be more specific.

The stationing of U.S. troops in South Korea is one of the factors that stand in the way of dialogue between the two sides of Korea. It also stands in the way of national reunification, a major national task. Also, it should not be forgotten that U.S. troops stationed in South Korea possess nuclear weapons.

Pyongyang calls for U.S. troops to withdraw from the southern half of the Korean peninsula. The ROK and U.S. Administration are against it, on the ground that the withdrawal of U.S. troops will only heighten the threat of southward invasion.

Meantime, Pyongyang has reduced its own troops by 100,000, while proposing that the North and South reduce Armed Forces to the level of 100,000 on each side in the future.

I believe that if such a proposal and other proposals advanced by the DPRK are realized, military confrontation on the Korean peninsula can be reduced drastically.

Summing up of the Seoul talks held between the prime ministers of the DPRK and ROK has not been made public yet, as the talks were held in camera. However, one thing is clear. The head of the North Korean side's delegation called for reduction of Armed Forces on the

Korean peninsula and stressed the need for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

In reports of the recent talks, Western and South Korean mass media said that the North and South had the same view on some issues. However, the two sides have sharply contrasting stands in the settlement of the Korean peninsula question.

For example, Seoul gives priority to its call for signing a nonaggression treaty and for converting the armistice agreement into a peace treaty, whereas the DPRK insists on discussing measures for disarmament. Now, what stand has the United States taken?

As is made clear in a statement released by the spokesman of the U.S. State Department, U.S. troops will remain in South Korea. Despite this, I hope that they would not remain there forever.

Soviet Media on Developing Ties With ROK

SK1909072290 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 18 Sep 90

["Brief Review" of conditions in South Korea reported by Soviet press]

[Text] IZVESTIYA carries a commentary by the diplomatic affairs reporter in connection with foreign press reporting that the Soviet Union will establish diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Pointing to a hope expressed by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze for normalization of the relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea, the commentary says that Shevardnadze stated that the Soviet Union will develop relations with South Korea. The article notes that Soviet observers believe that this will ease tensions in the Asian-Pacific region, help settle questions on the Korean peninsula, and correspond not only with the interests of the Soviet Union and South Korea but also with those of the people in the DPRK.

Next, Vladimir Baidashin, a PRAVDA reporter who was in South Korea some time ago, writes in an article entitled "In the 38th Parallel and in the Areas South of the Parallel" the following:

Today favorable external conditions are influencing the (?easing) of the confrontation on the Korean peninsula. Such conditions have been created by the current Soviet political line.

On the other hand, the South Korean leadership is ready to discuss the bilateral issues on easing tension in this region and on creating mutual trust with the participation of Moscow, Washington, Beijing, Tokyo, and Pyongyang.

Next, IZVESTIYA reports on a meeting between Gennadiy Yanayev, member of the Supreme Soviet State Affairs Committee and member and secretary of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and representatives of the National Assembly and business circles in South Korea. The paper notes that in the friendly talks, both sides discussed prospects for expanding the contact between the Soviet Union and South Korea, and exchanged views on the situation in northeast Asia and on the possibility of developing dialogue on the Korean peninsula.

Next, PRAVDA reports to its readers that Hyundai, a leading South Korean business group, is going to participate in the development of a coal mine in Yakutskaya and that the Soviet side will bear the expenses required for constructing a 320-kilometer-long railway linking the (Billee) station on the (Bam) railroad and the coalfields. In turn, the South Koreans will offer technical facilities and the means of transportation for its construction. The paper adds that the mined coal will be transported to Posyet and Vostochnyy in the Soviet Far East through the new (Bam) railroad, and from there, it will be exported to South Korea and other countries.

Next, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, in an article entitled "No Problems in Mail Service," explains the mail service in Seoul. The mail service center in Seoul is equipped with a conveyer system totalling three kilometers in length to handle mail and packages and has completely automated facilities. The mail conveyer system, which is capable of doing the work of 200 men, handles 30,000-tons of mail per hour.

Next, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, a Moscow newspaper, carries an article reporting that two Soviet children, eight-year old Yuri Shisinov and five-year old Masha Chaiyawa, came to Seoul for treatment of leukemia. The article says that the South Korean Medical Association regards this as an occasion to begin steady cooperation with Soviet medical functionaries.

Changes Observed Taking Place in DPRK

SK1909073790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The Moscow weekly magazine ARGUMENTY I FAKTY ran an article entitled "Restructuring, Pyongyang Style." This article had been printed in a Hong Kong magazine, FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW.

The article is on changes now taking place in political and social life in the DPRK.

The Hong Kong magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW wrote: Superficially, there seems to be no sign of any changes in the wind in North Korea. To casual observers, this country would appear to be a closed country where Stalinist rule is enforced.

Many foreigners even perceive this country to be a serious threat to regional security. The people in North

Korea can be said to be in military uniform. A philosophy related to self-reliance is still a way of thinking for many people. Nevertheless, it is natural that [word indistinct] make inroads into this society. In this, Korean expatriates, including Korean compatriots residing in Japan, and short wave radios, are doing their part.

The Hong Kong magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW continues: North Korean people are well aware of the fact that the centralized planning system and an excessive concentration on the munitions industry hinder the effective distribution of economic resources.

North Korea is in need of restructuring and reforms. That is to say, North Korea is trying to survive. Even so, it fears the chaos and passion that have swept through East Europe.

After conversations with the North Korean people, however, there are few in the country who argue against the need for reforming the country. It has already been recognized that the DPRK cannot win a war on the Korean peninsula and that it should reach agreement with Seoul and Washington. War, terrorist acts, or production of their own nuclear weapons no longer are considered to be a reasonable alternative to (?politics).

Some reforms have already been put in motion in North Korea, wrote the Hong Kong magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW.

Reforms that are under way in this country bear a close resemblance to what took place in China 10 years ago. Laws on joint ventures have been passed. Even a ministry in charge of joint ventures has been instituted. Dialogue among working people and businesses and the administration has become active.

Even directors of plants are allowed to argue against directives from the central planning institutions. Working people are entitled to bonuses, awards, medals, and red flags in exchange for their increased labor productivity. Private businessmen can sell a variety of foodstuffs and beverages on the sidewalks and the quality of vegetables sold by these businessmen is far higher than ones sold in state-run shops.

North Korea is steadily changing into a money economy. Plans are already under way to collect rent for housing and charges for the use of heating oil, water, and supply of houses [as heard]. Even foreigners can now visit any place in this country more freely than ever, except strategically important points and northern areas where munitions industrial facilities are concentrated, wrote the Hong Kong magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW.

Buddhist temples and Christian churches are being restored.

Recently, North Korea's foreign relations have experienced failure. Its national standing in East Europe has suffered a setback, but its relations with China are improving. North Korea is making an effort to maintain its relations with the Soviet Union. Major changes are visible in North Korea's effort to find its bearings.

Pyongyang refrains from committing any acts that might provoke the United States and the South Korean side.

Some people insist that the North Korean delegates should try to look ahead to see what is in store for them in the future instead of being constantly indignant about Americans. North Korea is now scrutinizing the experience of China which is now developing light industry in some of its special economic zones.

In the process of transforming the munitions industry, North Korea has now begun producing such durable consumer goods as bicycles, children's toys, computers, and tape recorders. Such goods are still in short supply in North Korean shops, wrote the Hong Kong magazine FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW.

The Russian version of this article was run by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Normalization of Chinese-Vietnamese Ties Seen

OW1909005890 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Commentary by Nikolayev from the "World Today" program]

[Text] According to a VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY report, a four-kilometer highway linking Vietnam's Lang Son City and the Youyi Pass on the Vietnamese-Chinese border has been opened to traffic. Not long ago, there were still mines left in this area, reminiscent of the clash between Vietnam and China in 1979. Now, all mines on this highway have been swept away. Our station observer Nikolayev has the following comments on this:

This is, of course, another sign of development toward the normalization of Vietnamese-Chinese relations. As shown by various indications, the Youyi Pass on the border between the two countries will soon become a major channel for travel between the two sides and for transporting between the two countries materials required for their national economic development. Last week the first Vietnamese delegation passed the border. It was composed of Vietnamese athletes participating in the Asian Games slated to open 22 September in Beijing.

A VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY dispatch from Hanoi said that following the athletes' visit, Vo Nguyen Giap, vice chairman, Council of Ministers of Vietnam, will go to Beijing. He first will stop at the Chinese border city of Nanning and then proceed by plane to the Chinese capital, where he will attend the grand opening ceremony for the Asian Games. This will be the first visit to China by a Vietnamese diplomat at this level since 1979, said

observers who have been observing carefully Vietnamese-Chinese relations. In Beijing, his activities will not be limited to participation in the Asian Games opening ceremony as an observer. According to the VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY, the main purpose of his visit is to discuss normalization of bilateral relations and the Cambodian situation with Chinese representatives. Remarkable progress has been made toward the solution to the Cambodian issue in the wake of the Jakarta meeting attended by the four factions of Cambodia. This seems to have created a favorable condition for [words indistinct] Sino-Vietnamese relations.

Recently, both sides, including representatives at the highest level, have called for restoring neighborly relations and expressed a willingness to do so. Those in Hanoi are even prepared to hold a summit. The path to normalizing relations between Vietnam and China gradually is being cleared.

New Ambassador Appointed to Vietnam

LD1809125290 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Rashit Khamidulin was appointed Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Dmitry Kachin was released of his duties as Soviet ambassador to Vietnam due to his retirement.

Khamidulin was born in 1936. He is Tatar. In 1960, he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Khamidulin has been in the diplomatic service since 1960. In 1960-1964, he worked in the Soviet Embassy in Vietnam and in 1966-1971, in the Soviet Embassy in Cambodia. He served as counsellor-envoy of the USSR Embassy in Laos from 1980 to 1983.

In 1987, Khamidulin was appointed as deputy head of the Department of Asian Socialist Countries and worked in this office until 1988.

Khamidulin has served as Soviet ambassador to Cambodia since may, 1988. He has the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

Talks on U.S. Bases in Philippines Reviewed

HK1909045590 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by Radio Moscow Southeast Asian correspondent Vladimir Belestravka]

[Text] According to Belestravka, owing to fears of anti-U.S. activities, the venue for the talks was not revealed to the public. Meanwhile, last Sunday, a demonstration was held in front of the U.S. Embassy in Manila, with demonstrators demanding the dismantling of the military bases.

All Filipinos know about the two large Pentagon military facilities in their country, namely Clark and Subic Naval Base, as well as four other smaller military installations. [sentence as received] Based on the existing treaty, the bases can remain in the country until September next year.

In the ongoing talks, Washington is asking that the bases be allowed to stay for from 25 to 30 years. On the other hand, Manila declared that retention will be allowed on condition that a treaty of friendship, cooperation, and security is concluded. Not mentioned is the condition that Washington pay a huge amount as rent for the bases as well as increasing its financial and economic assistance to the Philippines.

In view of the above-mentioned developments, our colleague Petr Chernov said that any move by the Aquino government should take into account the strong opposition of Filipinos to the military bases as well as the position of legislators. However, Chernov also noted that it would be difficult to expect the administration to reject outright U.S. military presence in the country. A consideration is the Filipino workers in the bases who, in one year, earn $1 billion.

According to Chernov, a new agreement is expected, with the only question being: Did both sides prepare a draft agreement for the talks?

Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew Scheduled To Visit

PM1909101390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union at the end of September this year at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Near East & South Asia

Report on Lending Ship to U.S. in Gulf Denied

AU1909131090 Paris AFP in English 1232 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Brussels, Sept 19 (AFP) — A NATO source said on Wednesday [19 September] that the Soviet Union had agreed to provide the United states with a big ship to take U.S. military hardware or troops to the Gulf, but in Moscow a Soviet spokesman denied the report. "This information is denied," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov.

The NATO source, who asked not to be identified, said the United States disclosed the unprecedented offer during a special meeting in Brussels Tuesday with ambassadors of the other 15 members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Soviet vessel to be loaned to the Americans was said to be a roll-on roll-off ferry capable of carrying anything from troops to tanks.

Moscow, once Iraq's principal ally, has joined the United Nations-mandated embargo against Iraq, but so far had not participated in the military effort to enforce the embargo.

Washington asked its allies in NATO two weeks ago to lend ships and planes to ferry troops and materiel to Saudi Arabia. Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and Denmark have responded positively, along with South Korea and Japan.

The source said the possibility that the Soviet Union might also provide transport aircraft was not raised at the meeting.

The United States informed its allies before giving its response to Moscow, and the allies agreed to let the United States make the formal announcement of the "remarkable" Soviet initiative, the source said.

Saudi Foreign Minister's Visit Continues

Talks With Gorbachev on Ties

PM1809145590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "S. al-Faysal Received"]

[Text] The USSR president met with Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal in the Kremlin 17 September in connection with the upcoming full restoration of diplomatic relations. The latter handed over a message from King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud.

A meeting at such a level marked the readiness of both states to bring their cooperation into the channel of the profound positive changes in the world in line with the principles of freedom of choice, equal rights, sovereignty, and balance of interests. The restoration of relations at the time of the acute crisis in the Arab East has emphasized the determination of both states to strive consistently and unswervingly in cooperation with other members of the international community for the fulfillment of the UN Security Council resolutions on the Persian Gulf.

M.S. Gorbachev and S. al-Faysal examined the situation as it is taking shape there at this moment. They voiced their assessments of the possible behavior of the aggressor and those who oppose him. They discussed likely options for achieving the goals set in the UN resolutions.

M.S. Gorbachev asked for greetings to be conveyed to the king and the people of Saudi Arabia and voiced a hope for the vigorous development of extensive, large-scale bilateral relations—development which will benefit both countries and serve the interests of settling the region's crisis problems and international improvement as a whole.

E.A. Shevardnadze, N. Madani, and H. Jindan [not further identified] participated.

Meets With Shevardnadze 18 Sep

LD1809152190 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Saudi Arabian counterpart Sa'ud al-Faysal concluded their talks here today.

In connection with the two countries' decision to exchange ambassadors, the ministers discussed prospects for strengthening Soviet-Saudi relations in various fields.

They continued the discussion of possible developments in the Persian Gulf and expressed their intention to maintain contacts on this acute problem.

The sides expressed their unanimous belief that the results of Sa'ud al-Faysal's talks in the Soviet Union meet the interests of both countries and help strengthen general positive changes in international relations.

Addresses News Conference

LD1809164690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1522 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev report from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center:

Sa'ud al-Faysal al Sa'ud, Saudi foreign minister, evaluated the restoration of bilateral official diplomatic ties between the USSR and that Arab country as "an important step along the path of developing relations between the two countries". He arrived in the Soviet Union last Sunday. Yesterday, the Saudi minister had a conversation with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, and also held talks with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. During both meetings a mutual desire to resume the full scope of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Saudi Arabia was voiced. They were effectively frozen 52 years ago after the Soviet Union recalled the staff of its diplomatic mission in Riyadh.

At a news conference that has just begun in Moscow, the Saudi minister read a statement by the heads of the "two holy mosques" to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. "Their parents believe," Sa'ud al-Faysal said, "that the resumption of diplomatic relations will entail the further deepening of relations between the two countries and will make its contribution to strengthening interstate ties throughout the world, and the development of cooperation between countries for the benefit of their peoples."

[In an earlier report, Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1415 GMT on 18 September added the following: At the same time, the Saudi minister assessed this as "only the first" step which, he said, in the opinion of Saudi Arabia's leadership, "will result in strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation between our states."]

Going on to talk about the discussion of the crisis in the Persian Gulf, Sa'ud al-Faysal said that the Saudi Arabian view of this "extremely complex crisis" has "met with some understanding" by the Soviet side. "We have also established," he added, "a certain coincidence of approaches to the problem of finding a way out of this crisis."

He stressed that the contacts he has had in Moscow have shown that both sides are counting on a settlement of this crisis by peaceful means, and believe that its peaceful resolution "demands full observance of the appropriate UN resolutions regarding Iraq's occupation of Kuwait." This, in turn, he indicated, "points to the need for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces and the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate rights, that is, the restoration of the status quo prior to 2 August of this year."

Replying to journalists' questions, Sa'ud al-Faysal declared: "The USSR has always played a positive role in the Middle East. The USSR is also playing a positive role in resolving this conflict, and we welcome and encourage this role."

Sa'ud al-Faysal rigorously opposed the "linking" by Iraq of a settlement of the crisis in the Persian Gulf to a solution of the Palestinian problem stressing, at the same time, that the Palestinian problem, "it goes without saying, has to be solved." "This," he added, "does not, however, require the occupation of Kuwait."

Replying to a question as to whether, after the crisis, Saudi Arabia will ask the United States to withdraw its armed forces, the Saudi minister said that these troops are there at the request of the Saudi leadership, in accordance with UN Security Council decisions, to ensure the defense of his country, and that they will leave Saudi Arabia "as soon as they are requested to do so" by its leadership.

Urges 'Common Sense' in Iraq

PM1809180190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal by correspondent B. Ivanov: "Sa'ud al-Faysal: One Has to Seek a Peaceful Solution to the Crisis"]

[Text] Immediately after the [17 September] Kremlin talks the Saudi foreign policy department head found time to talk with an IZVESTIYA correspondent at his residence in the Lenin Hills. The first question asked itself.

[Ivanov] What was behind Saudi Arabia's desire to normalize relations with the Soviet Union?

[al-Faysal] In the first place we believe that this step can only benefit the peoples of the two states, will lead to increased good-neighborliness and stability in the Near East, and will also help strengthen peace and international security. Moreover, we have great hopes that the new quality of relations will lead to the establishment of considerable and significant cooperation between Moscow and Riyadh.

Incidentally, no one formally broke off Soviet-Saudi diplomatic relations. They were established in 1926 and then, for various reasons, they gradually died, as it were, and had ceased of their own accord by the eve of World War II. Now we are placing them on an official footing again, restoring them.

I want to stress that in the past few years both countries have covered considerable ground in their desire to normalize their relations. But Saudi Arabia's wishes and intentions go much further than the establishment of mere normal diplomatic links; we want them to be much deeper and affect as many aspects of your society's life as possible. During the Kremlin talks the Soviet leaders expressed similar wishes. Therefore I expect our relations to develop very intensively in the political, economic, and social spheres. They could also be useful in the security sphere, particularly now that, to put it bluntly, a tragic situation has occurred in our region as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. I am convinced that these relations will be a timely and important factor in the settlement of the present crisis by peaceful means and, in particular, in the implementation of the decisions of the international community, expressed in the relevant UN Security Council resolutions.

[Ivanov] Has a provisional framework for the exchange of embassies been established?

[al-Faysal] It was decided to open them immediately, as soon as the preparations are complete. I believe that we will start dealing with the requisite formalities on this score in the next few weeks.

[Ivanov] Does this mean that a Saudi embassy will open in Moscow before the end of the year?

[al-Faysal] Of course; I believe it will happen even sooner. As will the opening of the Soviet embassy in Riyadh—in fact, the two diplomatic missions will start work simultaneously.

[Ivanov] What do you think are the prospects for Soviet-Saudi bilateral cooperation?

[al-Faysal] Very good, I believe. The areas for joint efforts are also pretty wide. I regard the deepening of mutual understanding between our states as one of the main elements in this cooperation. Visits and exchanges of officials are a good thing; they are what lays the basis for the normalization of relations. Now, I believe, ties must develop in depth, switching to the level of contacts

between people, because it is here that the benefits of cooperation are most keenly felt. We are committed to the intensive development of our economic links. The Soviet Union is one of the world's main oil producers. Oil is a vitally important product for us too. So we certainly have many common interests and points of contact in this sphere. Our country is not only a major oil exporter, it still commands strategic positions in international trade and possesses the necessary base for the creation of joint ventures, which could well be competitive on the world market. The Soviet Union is not just a country, it is an entire continent possessing immense human and raw material potential. Therefore, in my view, the development of economic links will have an important positive influence not only on Moscow and Riyadh, but on the situation in the international community.

[Ivanov] What part can the Soviet Union play in the Near East region in view of the situation that has developed there?

[al-Faysal] Soviet actions in the world arena have recently led to the appearance in people's minds of hopes for the creation of a new world order—an order in which the entire world community, and not just individual countries, will fight against the evil that is challenging us at the moment; an order that will encourage the world's states to spend much more money on the fight against hunger and disease than on the creation of bombs and missiles. The call in Moscow for the creation of this order met with a widespread response not only in Saudi Arabia, but in other countries as well. So it is all the more painful now to realize that the serious threat to this world order which arose recently, and which is essentially geared to a return to the days of cold war and military piracy, originates in an Arab country, of all places. The fact that it is an Arab state that through its actions is making fruitful, peaceful regional and international cooperation impossible fills our hearts with anger as well as sadness. I am sure that after the talks with the Soviet leadership this confidence will have grown even stronger—that by acting together we will be stronger than the one who alone is trying to destroy the new principles of world life.

[Ivanov] Is there still then, in your opinion, a real danger of an attack on Saudi Arabia?

[al-Faysal] Alas, the figures and facts speak for themselves. Baghdad has now massed 140,000 soldiers in Kuwait, in direct proximity to our border. They are supported by 1,200 tanks. The Iraqi troops deployed on the Iraqi-Saudi border number a further 300,000. There are around 2,000 tanks there too. Where are these troops intending to move to? What is the next target? After all, Kuwait is already occupied. So as far as we are concerned the threat of an Iraqi attack is not speculation, is not conjecture. People often ask whether or not there will be a war. But there is a war already! Iraq has declared war on our region by occupying an Arab country. It is war indeed! I repeat, the threat exists. And not only to us. To all Iraq's neighbors as well.

[Ivanov] There have been articles in the Arab press of late claiming that, according to Baghdad's military scenario, Jordan and Yemen were supposed to join in Iraq's actions at a certain stage, and it was only because of Riyadh's swift and decisive steps in inviting the international forces that this did not happen....

[al-Faysal] I am familiar with reports of this kind. I believe that anyone who wants to develop a theory of some kind of a major plot can obviously do so. On the other hand, we simply refuse to believe that there is anyone in the Arab countries who approves of the annexation of Kuwait and of the possibility of extending the aggression to other neighboring states. We have received assurances from Arab states which testify that not one of them agrees with the principle of legitimizing the seizure of one state by another by means of military force.

[Ivanov] Nonetheless, the events of the past weeks indicate that a polarization of forces has taken place in the Arab world, that two camps have formed, as it were....

[al-Faysal] True, there is an opinion now that a number of Arab countries occupy one position, and a number of others occupy a different position. At the latest Arab League conference in Cairo, which was, incidentally, devoted to the discussion of the crisis in the Persian Gulf, a number of member countries of that organization were absent. Because of that we put a number of questions to them: What is the meaning of your absence from the session of the League, which is the body for elaborating a united Arab stance? Does this mean that there are differences in approach to the assessment of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait, or are there differences in interpretation of the League's Statutes, which point out unequivocally that the occupation of another state is an illegal and scandalous act? We have received the answers. They are unanimous: There are no differences in the assessment of such matters, nor can there be.... But that is not enough. We must elaborate a joint Arab stance if we want to talk in earnest about any real Arab solution of the current crisis. In our opinion an Arab solution is possible only in the event that all Arab countries agree on two principles—the necessity of the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, and a return to the rule of law in interstate relations. As long as these principles are being violated, no solution, either Arab or any other, can be achieved. When it is a question of overt aggression and occupation, there can be no double standards, no two criteria—a purely Arab one, and some kind of international one—in the approach. The approach must be a united one.

[Ivanov] Does this mean that the possibility of an Arab solution to the conflict now appears very remote....

[al-Faysal] First of all it is necessary to define the concepts precisely. An Arab solution to what? The Iraqi

occupation of Kuwait? There can be no such solution. As long as Iraqi troops remain on Kuwaiti territory, there is nothing to discuss, there is no subject for talks. Iraq must withdraw. This must be absolutely clear to everyone. Only then will it be possible to talk about an Arab solution of the complaints which Baghdad leveled at its tiny neighbor in advance of the aggression.

[Ivanov] Is it possible to induce Iraq by political, peaceful means to withdraw its troops from Kuwait?

[al-Faysal] That is not just possible, it is essential. I see no other alternative. The entire international community wishes and demands this. If Baghdad removes its soldiers from Kuwaiti territory, this will only benefit Iraq and its people.

[Ivanov] Meanwhile, unfortunately, there is no sign that the Iraqi leadership has any intention of leaving Kuwait; on the contrary, the troop concentration continues.

[al-Faysal] I agree that Iraq has ignored all the opportunities it has been given to demonstrate that it heeds the opinion of the international community. Unfortunately, I cannot express the hope that the Iraqi leadership will change its stance, bring it in line with current realities, and put an end to a situation which, ultimately, may inflict enormous damage on Iraq itself.

[Ivanov] It could happen that all further efforts to end the crisis by peaceful means prove fruitless. What then? War?

[al-Faysal] I do not want to make any predictions now. I hope that the Iraqi leadership has nonetheless sufficient common sense not to push matters to a point where the international community is left with the sole option of military conflict. Such actions would throw the Arab world, and indeed the whole civilized world back several years. Therefore, I repeat, we favor a peaceful way out of the crisis.

Says Palestinian Cause Hurt

LD1809185190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Interview with Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal Al Sa'ud on talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Moscow; date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—Sa'ud al-Faysal's comments in English with superimposed Russian translation; recorded]

[Text] A concluding conversation was held today between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Saudi Arabia Foreign Minister al-Faysal. In connection with the decision made by the USSR and Saudi Arabia on resuming the exchange of diplomatic representatives at ambassadorial level, they discussed the promising directions of strengthening Soviet-Saudi relations in various spheres. The exchange of opinions was continued on possible variants of the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf region.

The Saudi Arabian foreign minister concluded his visit to our country today. Before leaving Moscow by air, he was interviewed by a "Vremya" correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The agreement on the resumption of diplomatic relations between our two countries after an interval of over half a century has been signed. What could you say in this connection?

[al-Faysal] For us in Saudi Arabia this is an historic event, as it signifies the expansion of opportunities for cooperation between our states, not only in the sphere of bilateral relations but also in the international sphere. It serves the interests of both our countries. I can say also that they are important for us, in themselves, regardless of what influence they could have on any specific situation. But because this has happened precisely now, we hope it will also be useful for resolving the problems existing in our region.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what are the prospects for a peaceful settlement of the crisis resulting from Baghdad's aggression against the small state of Kuwait?

[al-Faysal] This question was one of those which we discussed in Moscow, and I had the honor to meet the president of your country. It was a very important meeting. I also held talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, which were also extremely useful. If one is to speak about any preliminary results, then both sides expressed the hope that the problem could be resolved peacefully. But from the discussion it was also quite clear that this could occur only if Iraq agrees to leave Kuwait and the legal government of that country is able to return.

[Correspondent] Do you think that the position of your country and those Arab countries which support you on this matter will be useful for resolving the Palestinian problem?

[al-Faysal] You know we have no alliance. The whole international community is on our side. It holds the same position. So this is not just the position of Saudi Arabia. As far as concerns the Palestinian question, we consider that the greatest damage which has been done to the Palestinian cause was the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. When Iraq asserts that it will not leave Kuwait until Israel leaves the occupied territories, then we ask ourselves: Why should Israel be in the slightest bit concerned about whether Iraq leaves Kuwait? By this action Iraq has given a sort of Arab justification for Israel to remain where it is. And one of the most important and significant consequences of Baghdad's aggression is precisely that such vast damage has been caused to the Palestinian cause. However, we hope that this damage is not irreversible. [end recording]

Considers Normalized Ties

PM1909083390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers' Talks"]

[Text] A meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister S. al-Faysal was held 17 September.

At the focus of the sides' attention was the question of the complete normalization of Soviet-Saudi relations. Rating highly the political dialogue which has been established betweeen the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia, the ministers, speaking on behalf of the governments of the two countries, favored an exchange of diplomatic missions at ambassadorial level. A separate communique was agreed.

Shevardnadze described this step by the two states as a result of the new political thinking which is exerting an increasing influence on world affairs and interstate relations. The Saudi side noted the significance of Soviet-Saudi relations in solving the regional problems of the Near East.

During the talks it was noted especially that it is necessary to intensify the efforts of Arab states which could make a substantial contribution to settling the crisis in the Persian Gulf zone.

TASS Views Reaction to Soviet-Saudi Relations

LD1809164490 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Cairo September 18 TASS—The restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia has met with a warm response of Arab countries.

The Saudi newspaper AL-SARK AL-AUSAT described it as a "historic" event. It will result in cooperation between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia in the political sphere, first and foremost, in joining their efforts to implement the U.N. Security Council's resolutions on a Gulf settlement, the newspaper writes.

The development of relations is in the interests of the two countries, and each of them plays an important role in the solution of international problems, first of all, in the Arab region. Now, Moscow and Riyadh have the opportunity to hold direct contacts and coordinate their policies, the newspaper writes.

The agreement to restore diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia has become an important factor on the road to a Gulf settlement and other regional problems, Saudi television said, commenting on the visit of Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal to Moscow and his meeting with the Soviet leadership.

From now on, the two states will together and in concord develop international cooperation and strengthen peace and security in the world. the comment said.

The U.S. State Department welcomes the decision, which is sure to lead to the improvement of mutual understanding between the two countries, state department official spokesman Richard Boucher said. He said the timing of the event is symbolic, as it stresses the unity of the international community against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Soviet, Israeli Foreign Ministers To Meet

Ministry Announces Talks

LD1809115590 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has announced that consultations of Soviet and Israeli experts held on 14 September in Moscow were preparatory for a meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers to be held in New York. The Soviet and Israeli experts discussed the Middle East situation and other issues.

Improved Relations Seen

TA1909124590 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1500 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Commentary by Dmitriy Prokofyev]

[Text] On the face of it, the communique issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman at the end of the talks held with Israeli diplomats in anticipation of the Shevardnadze-Levi meeting in New York next week would seem to say just that the Soviet Union and Israel once again agreed to disagree. After all, a general and abstract phrase such as steps meant to alleviate the establishment of peace and stability is a formula which may be interpreted either way; it may be read both as the establishment of a secular and democratic State of Palestine or as giving the green light to a transfer of Arabs from Israel. However, the mention of a regional security alignment is not only a new element in the political relations between the Soviet Union and Israel, but also a vital breakthrough toward overall coordination of the political efforts in the Middle East.

As a matter of fact, official-level discussions about a regional security alignment began as early as in the Camp David negotiations between Israel, Egypt, and the United States. The intention then was to set up an alignment of moderate regimes in the Middle East which at that time conducted an avowed pro-Western policy. The Soviet leadership under Brezhnev, which advocated a confrontational approach in its international thinking, hastened to pronounce the notion of a regional security alignment a U.S.-Zionist conspiracy aimed at the progressive regimes in the Arab world. The changes in the regional alignment—such as the Cairo-Riyadh alliance, the Israeli-Syrian activities in Lebanon, and so forth—merited no reaction whatsoever on the part of the Soviets. Only now that the principles of new thinking have been integrated into Soviet foreign policy has the

Soviet Union reached the conclusion that any independent initiative by the countries of the region aimed at coordinating activities for the sake of peace should be welcomed.

At the same time, the impression created lately is that political circles in Israel are gradually beginning to move away from the long-standing traditional approach to the notion of a regional security alignment. This has been evident following the improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, the strategic ally of the State of Israel. A sign to this effect is also seen in the fact that people in Israel understand better that if the Arab world is in a state of chaos the danger increases that some regimes in the Middle East, Iraq and those currently siding with it first and foremost, might take destructive actions.

In my opinion, this state of affairs creates good conditions for applying the new thinking in relations between the Soviet Union and Israel to the Middle East in general in the form of a regional security alignment, if and when this notion attains the full agreement of the superpowers. In such an event, the frontline in the region would not be between the Arabs and Israel or between pro-American and pro-Soviet regimes, but as is the case throughout the enlightened world, it would be between democratic and terrorist regimes.

Defense Ministry Comments on Iraqi Servicemen

LD1809134190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] A few days ago Latvian television showed footage of Iraqi servicemen staying outside the capital, Riga. This fact, as well as the demand of the Latvian leadership that the Iraqi servicemen leave the territory of the Baltic republic, have prompted listeners' questions. Aleksandr Yakovlev has found out some details.

The demand to leave Latvia concerns 77 Iraqi seamen caught by the Iraqi invasion in Kuwait in Bolderaja, near Riga. Servicemen from several countries including Iraq are learning to use Soviet military equipment and arms sold to those countries at a Soviet naval training center there. Less than two months are left till the end of the course of the said Iraqi servicemen, who are getting the training of boat operators.

According to the Defense Ministry a total of 178 Iraqi servicemen are studying in the Soviet Union. They are mostly naval officers. Besides Latvia they are trained at centers in Poti and Vladivostok under appropriate agreements, which, as Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov put it, we cannot sever automatically. However, the enrollment of new cadets from Iraq, as well as Soviet arms shipments to that country, have been stopped. All Iraqi servicemen, the minister said, will be returned to Iraq as soon as they complete their studies.

Cuba Denies Receiving Oil Shipments From Iraq

LD1909090790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Cuban Foreign Ministry has denied accusations by the U.S. Department of State that Cuba allegedly maintains trade links with Iraq. Our correspondent Viktor Gorbachev reports from Havana:

[Gorbachev] The Department of State has compiled a report which claims that Cuba is allegedly trying to take advantage of Iraq's offer to deliver oil gratis to developing countries and that it has even actually received some oil since the UN Security Council adopted an embargo on economic links with Iraq. These assumptions by the Department of State were reported today by the mass media. If they are to be believed, Cuba is a country capable, for the sake of its own interests, of violating sanctions aimed at curbing an aggressor.

Incidentally, although Cuba, which is now in the Security Council, abstained from voting on economic measures against Iraq, it is implementing them. An exception for humane considerations is only made for medicines and food. All other trade and economic contacts were broken off on 6 August. Detailed information on this has been sent to the Security Council and the United States must certainly know about it.

The Cuban Foreign Ministry denied the State Department fabrications. The document points out that a campaign is being mounted to distort Cuba's clear position on Persian Gulf conflict. The Cuban foreign minister also announced that the United States received consignments of Iraqi oil after the resolution on economic sanctions against Iraq was adopted in the Security Council.

NEW TIMES Views Iraq's Terrorist Links

PM1909115090 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 37, 11-17 Sep 90 pp 10-11

[Article by A. Chudodeyev: "Baghdad: A Den of Terrorists"]

[Text] For the past ten years, terrorist acts in the Middle East have been mostly aimed at the Americans and the Israelis, while the Palestinians acted as the perpetrators. The latter justified their crimes by vengeance against Zionists occupying the shrines of Jerusalem and Arab territories. Every conflict in the Middle East was followed by a series of assassinations, kidnappings, bomb attacks and plane crashes.

As a means of combat, terrorism is cheaper than conventional warfare. That is why, some experts insist, a number of political organizations and even countries regard terrorism as a cheap opportunity to hit at their adversaries. The more so since sometimes terrorist attacks are rewarded. After a dynamite-loaded truck

exploded inside the US Marine garrison in Beirut in 1983, leaving 241 people dead, the Americans hastened to pull out from Lebanon.

Career politicians in democratic countries are always confronted by the problem of moral choice and rent by doubts about whether retaliation is justified: terrorists are almost never caught red-handed and it is often unclear who should be punished for an act of terrorism.

The secret services of various countries, however, have been effectively retaliating in the past few years, although not without errors. As a result, 1989 was the most peaceful year ever since international terrorism appeared in its present form in the late 1960s. According to the US Department of State's annual report, the number of terrorist attacks drastically reduced last year. Only 528 such attacks were carried out that year, which, as the Department of State believes, is a hope-inspiring factor, because it is 38 percent less than in 1988.

Most attacks (193) were registered in the Middle East. In 1979-82, Iraq was on the "black list" of the Department of State as "a country encouraging terrorism." Then it was omitted from that list for a while because Baghdad's involvement in any terrorist attack was never proved.

Recently, various Western special services have been increasingly worried by experts' reports indicating that even before the occupation of Kuwait Iraq had been methodically restoring the network of old and encouraged the establishment of new terrorist organizations. According to Western intelligence sources quoted by the Wall Street Journal, the number of active international terrorists currently staying in Iraq amounts to 1,400, which is double last year's figure.

Western secret services are accusing Saddam of having given shelter in spring this year to what easily may be the most formidable terrorist organization, the Abu-Nidal group. This organization numbers over one thousand well-trained terrorists and has been based in Libya for a number of years. Some time ago, the group split, and many terrorists were killed during bloody fighting between the rival factions. It seemed that the organization would not survive. However, Baghdad helped it stage a comeback. Hundreds of Abu-Nidal gunmen, writes the Wall Street Journal, are training close to the Iraqi capital.

Not much is known about the leader of this organization, Abu-Nidal, since he shuns publicity: he is rarely seen in public and is reluctant to give interviews. Nonetheless, all Interpol catalogues list him as "terrorist No. 1." It is believed that Abu-Nidal was born in 1937 (some sources locate his birthplace in the West Bank, others insist it was Jaffa, south of Tel Aviv). Sabri al-Banna (the real name of Abu Nidal) was the 14th child of Khalil al-Banna, a well-known Palestinian landlord. In his young years he worked as a teacher in Jerusalem. Even today this baldish short man looks like a teacher, rather than a murderer. He is said to be a loving husband and father.

The activities of the loving father, whose assumed name means "father of the struggle" in Arabic, started after the beginning of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the Israeli occupation of some Palestinian lands. Abu-Nidal joined Fatah, the leading group inside the PLO. In 1973, however, he broke away from the PLO, believing its activities were too moderate and ineffective in the struggle against Israel.

In August of the same year, Abu-Nidal and his accomplice Ahmad Ghafir carried out a terrorist attack in the airport of Athens, leaving 55 people dead. The PLO leader, Yasir 'Arafat, said publicly after he learned about this action by Abu-Nidal and his accomplice "These two must be found and put to death." Since then the Abu-Nidal group has been in hiding.

The geography and scale of their crimes are staggering. Massacre in the airports of Rome and Vienna in 1985, hijacking of an Egyptian plane to Malta simultaneously with an attack on a Paris synagogue in August 1986, the hijacking of a Pan Am jet to Pakistan.

The schoolteacher and his "students" would have been caught a long time ago, had it not been for the assistance of powerful patrons. The US intelligence repeatedly reported to the US Congress that Bulgaria, East Germany and Poland rendered invaluable assistance to Abu-Nidal. Members of his group could travel freely to and from these countries, where they were helped to legalize their assets and given weapons. "The father of struggle: himself was fond of taking a rest and medical checkups in East Berlin. Only the collapse of the Berlin Wall and peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe forced Abu-Nidal to seek new patrons and a new location for his group and himself.

Experts believe that besides Abu-Nidal, Saddam Husayn has offered shelter to another well-known terrorist, Abu-al-Abbas. This "righteous son of Allah in the struggle against the infidels" is responsible for the hijacking in the Mediterranean in October 1985 of the Italian vessel Achille Lauro and the killing of the American Leon Klinghoffer, and old invalid in a wheelchair. Another feat of Abu-al-'Abbas is the recent frustrated attempt to attack the Israeli coast, which made the US terminate its negotiations with the PLO.

It is believed that Saddam has also contacted Jibril, the leader of the organization which has been involved in the blasting of the Pan Am jet over Scotland in December 1988. (Although recent speculations in the Italian press suggest that the plane may have been blasted by gunmen belonging to the masonic lodge P2). The French secret service believes Jibril has been invited by Baghdad to open a mission of his organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, there.

The Iraqi president has opportunities to use another group, the Lebanon-based pro-Iranian Shiite terrorist organization Hizballah (the party of God). Whe he occupied Kuwait, Saddam seized 15 Shiite terrorists kept in the Kuwaiti Emir's prisons, including a relation

of one of Hizballah's fiercest terrorists, 'Imad Mugniyah. French intelligence sources report that the prisoners have already been shipped to Baghdad and that Husayn is prepared to release Mugniyah's relation. If these reports are to be believed, then the news is a bad omen for the six American hostages kept by Hizballah, since now their fate is in the hands of the Iraqi leader.

There are indications that Saddam has stepped up contacts with other Arab terrorist groups, calling on "all righteous Muslims" to help him oppose America. The CIA is especially worried by Baghdad's flirting with the Lebanon-based Palestinian organization, Al-Jihad Al-Islami, which attacked an Israeli bus in Egypt in February this year and killed all the passengers aboard.

Besides this, two more well-known terrorists have long resided in Iraq. One is Abu-Ibrahim, a bomb expert. The other, Abu-Salim, and his organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, were involved in the 1985 bomb explosion in a Spanish restaurant frequented by US servicemen.

It takes time to prepare a terrorist attack, however. And time is what Saddam lacks more than anything. Another obstacle is purely psychological. As any real dictator, Saddam Husayn has always feared attempts on his life, Western journalists claim. He changes his whereabouts more often now and orders all his food tested for poisons. He almost never leaves his bunker. The use of terrorists is a risky business and no one can guarantee that tomorrow the terrorists would not turn their arms at their former boss.

Mubarak Addresses Troops Sent to Saudi Arabia

PM1909135990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by unidentified correspondent: "Persian Gulf: Egypt Sends Troops"]

[Text] Cairo—Another contingent of Egyptian troops has been sent to Saudi Arabia. Assessing the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Iraqi regime's actions, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak addressed them at a base near Alexandria.

Above all, the president said, there is no doubt that Saudi Arabia is fully entitled to defend its security and to this end to invite any countries' troops to its territory. One can only regret, he added, that Arabs will be opposing Egyptian servicemen.

Iraq is still responding to all Egypt's efforts to reduce the level of confrontation and secure a peaceful settlement with insults, threats, and accusations of treachery. The fact that such accusations are coming from the leadership of a country which has, in conquering a fraternal Arab country, killed many of its inhabitants and left many people homeless, cannot help but cause amazement, Husni Mubarak stressed. After all, only two years ago the same leadership swore its commitment to diplomatic language and rejected the idea of aggression by one Arab country against other, whatever the reasons.

These attempts, the president stated, are designed to belittle Egypt's role. However, no one will be able to replace Egypt in the system of regional priorities. If Iraq intends, as its leaders state, to become a superpower by 1992, Husni Mubarak said, we have nothing against that. However, this must not happen at the expense of fraternal Arab states.

Before committing aggression, the president recalled, Iraq had tried to buy Egypt's sympathy with its actions or at any rate to neutralize it. However, the Egyptians cannot stand behind this unjust deed. Egypt immediately condemned the invasion and is pressing for the legitimate rights of the Kuwaiti people and their leaders.

I must say that the president's position has won unanimous support in the Egyptian press, which sees the root of the question that has given rise to disagreement in the Arab world not in the presence of foreign troops in the region but in the circumstances which brought them there.

"Surely it is Saddam Husayn's actions that are the reason for the Western troop presence in the Gulf?" observer 'Abd-al-Salam Dawud asked in AL-AKHBAR. After all, it was Saddam Husayn who got the Arabs into this vicious circle and distracted world attention from the burning Palestinian issue. Thus the Iraqi leadership is wholly responsible for this.

Reports on Iraqi Acts Against Missions in Kuwait

UN Security Council Meets

PM1809125390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Roundup prepared by Yu. Gatselyuk: "Persian Gulf: Dangerous Exacerbation of Situation"]

[Excerpt] As we have already reported, an emergency session of the UN Security Council was convened on the night of Saturday to Sunday on the initiative of France and Canada in connection with the Iraqi troops' illegal actions against foreign states' diplomatic missions on Kuwaiti territory.

The session unanimously adopted a resolution, numbered 667, and containing a demand that Iraq immediately release the seized foreign citizens and and fulfill without delay and in full its international obligations under UN Security Council resolutions and the Vienna conventions on diplomatic and consular relations.

The Security Council members resolved to hold urgent consultations to elaborate further specific measures in connection with Baghdad's continuing violation of the UN Charter, Security Council resolutions, and international law.

A USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated 16 September that the Soviet Union condemns Iraq's illegal action regarding foreign embassies in Kuwait. He described it as impermissible from the viewpoint of international law, as flouting the norms of civilized contact between states, and as still further inflaming the situation in the Persian Gulf region.

Yu.M. Vorontsov, the USSR's permanent representative in the United Nations, called the aforementioned actions by Iraqi soldiers a "flagrant violation of the principles and norms of relations between civilized states and of the specific provisions of Security Council Resolution 664, under which Iraq must not create obstacles to the activity of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait." "We are entitled," he stressed, "to expect the Iraqi Government to finally heed the demands of the UN Security Council, the main one being the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Kuwait with a view to restoring that state's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity." [passage omitted]

Gorbachev, Mitterrand Talk

PM1809144590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Telephone Conversation Between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand"]

[Text] A telephone conversation took place Sunday between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand. A harsh assessment was made of last Friday's attack by Iraqi soldiers on the residence of the French ambassador to Kuwait and the kidnapping of three French citizens. M.S. Gorbachev rated that as a premeditated stoking of the atmosphere.

East Europe

CSFR Minister's Remarks on KGB Assailed

PM1709151190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Letter from Colonel V. Kosolapov, retired, former deputy chief of USSR KGB Mission to Czechoslovak Ministry of Interior in Prague: "Prague Variation?"]

[Text] Esteemed editors! Not so long ago I sent a letter on this subject to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. But it was not published. It has come to my knowledge that my response was sent to the person who gave the interview about the substance of which I decided to speak out. As a result I am turning to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI No. 30 published an interview with Jan Ruml, CSFR [Czech and Slovak Federal Republic] first deputy minister of the interior. This interview prompted me to ponder yet again the meaning of the profound social and political changes that are currently taking place in Czechoslovakia.

Of course, everybody is entitled to expound his views and opinions on any topic, including secret service activities. It is a question of how this is done. Thus, as I read J. Ruml's interview I could not shake off the idea, for example, that one of its main objectives was to intimidate the so-called "new malcontents" in Czechoslovakia. How else are we to interpret a statement by such a responsible figure that it is necessary to establish surveillance of former state security staffers? Is it even feasible, incidentally, to monitor the actions and attitudes of the thousands of state security organ staffers who have been released from the service by the present authorities and also many other Czechoslovak citizens, primarily people who have studied in the Soviet Union and are simply sincere friends of our country?

The interview also seems to have another objective—importunate fueling of the "KGB omnipotence" myth. In particular, it alleges without evidence that KGB agents have penetrated the whole of Czechoslovakia. J. Ruml cites no proof, of course.

It is obviously necessary to explain to readers why all this interested me and say a few words about myself. I am a retired state security colonel and worked in various posts in Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence for 40 years. From December 1986 through February 1990 I was deputy chief of the USSR KGB mission to the Czechoslovak Federal Ministry of the Interior. All this, as you will realize, enables me to judge the "KGB agents" situation with knowledge of all aspects of the problem.

I state with all responsibility that since the end of World War II Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence officers, paradoxical as this may seem to Mr. Ruml, have not worked against Czechoslovakia or recruited agents among Czechs and Slovaks. During my time in Prague I personally never met any "agents" recruited from among Czechoslovak citizens—nor could I have done, since there is no such thing. My relations with Czechoslovak state security organ representatives were built on a strictly official basis and were strictly regulated by a special agreement on cooperation between our two departments. I established friendly relations with many Czechs and Slovaks, of course, primarily among state security organ staffers, but maybe even the interviewee would not venture to categorize them as "KGB agents" on that basis.

Most of my Czechoslovak colleagues were patriots of their country and real professionals. Nor did Soviet Chekhists see anything shameful in learning from many of them. And their struggle was not against their own people but against the real Western special services that were conducting active military, espionage, and technical intelligence against Czechoslovakia. And thanks to their efforts the Czechoslovak people's independence, security, and peaceful labor has been safeguarded throughout recent decades.

Here it is also necessary to stress the fact that for many decades our two states were not only allied but also friendly in the full sense of the word. They exchanged information of mutual interest on an official basis. Therefore any other ways of obtaining it were simply unnecessary. The esteemed first deputy minister can convince himself of this if he familiarizes himself with documents in his department's possession or talks with the people on whom he intends to organize or has already organized surveillance.

Nor can I remain silent about J. Ruml's assertion about lack of contacts with the KGB. It simply does not accord with reality. To prove this it is not necessary to look in secret dossiers, all that is needed is to consult newspaper files. In particular, PRAVDA on 28 February 1990 reported that during CSFR President V. Havel's visit to Moscow USSR KGB Chairman V.A. Kryuchkov had a meeting with Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior R. Sacher. V.A. Kryuchkov and R. Sacher signed a cooperation agreement between the USSR KGB and the CSFR Federal Ministry of the Interior envisaging reciprocal action for the purpose of safeguarding the two states' national security taking account of alliance commitments within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. In accordance with this agreement there are still today KGB official representatives in Prague and CSFR Federal Ministry of the Interior representatives in Moscow. Therefore insinuations about the presence of "several KGB staffers" in the Soviet embassy look simply odd.

Another cause for astonishment is the supposition persistently expressed by J. Ruml about "the presence of a section of CSFR Federal Ministry of the Interior archives in Moscow." Back at the end of June a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman read a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists a statement on this question which was subsequently reproduced in the Czechoslovak press, for example in SVOBODNE SLOVO for 29 June. And I personally, as a witness of the "polite revolution" in Czechoslovakia in November 1989 and a person who worked there for several months after that, can also responsibly state that the USSR KGB received no documents for storage from the Czechoslovak side, and especially no state security organ archives.

And another point. In J. Ruml's words, the Committee for the Defense of the Constitution and Democracy which is being created in the CSFR to replace the former counterintelligence service "will never operate on KGB principles." He is thereby making yet another attempt to cast a shadow on Soviet state security organs. And yet he must know that the USSR KGB has long since broken with the practices of past years and organized its work strictly within the framework of the USSR constitution and Soviet laws. The restructuring in KGB organs has been given pretty extensive coverage in Soviet and, particularly, the foreign mass media.

Summing up what I have said, I can only share the view of correspondents M. Shevelev abd N. Gevorkyan, who interviewed J. Ruml, that he is "not a professional, a lawyer, a legal expert, or an investigator." Nor can I disagree with with their fears that he faces difficult tasks: reforming the law enforcement system and state security bodies and creating a new legal foundation. This would be difficult for anybody, and especially for anybody like Mr. Ruml, whose way of thinking, as is clear from the interview, is burdened with stereotypes and dogmas from the past and a leaning toward confrontation with the country's "new dissidents." There is evidently no other possible assessment of one of the "achievements" of his department, which has allegedly established that "the Soviet Embassy in Prague is being visited by former state security chief Vykypel." In that case, incidentally, what should we think about the fact, well known in the CSFR, that even before 17 November 1989 J. Ruml maintained close contacts with staffers from the U.S. Embassy in Prague, including representatives of the U.S. special services. Moreover it is also evident that he has not severed these links in his new capacity as first deputy minister of the interior.

I would very much like to think that J. Ruml's statements are the result of honest misunderstandings or insufficient knowledge of the problems concerned. But my professional and personal experience suggests otherwise. The chess gambit involving national state security organs in harness with the KGB that is currently being played in the CSFR is hardly a purely "Prague" variation....

CSFR's Deputy Premier Holds Economic Talks

LD1809204190 Prague CTK in English 1954 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow Sept 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales met today with Soviet Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State commission for External Economic Affairs Stepan Sitaryan for a last session of talks.

Both representatives agreed that they took a step forward in dealing with the complex problems facing Soviet-Czechoslovak economic relations.

Today's talks concerned mainly specific changes connected with new conditions from 1 January 1991, set by draft agreements on new system of payment, banking cooperation and mutual supplies of important raw materials energy sources and engineering products. Experts from the Czechoslovakia and the republics' governments held talks for the whole day with the Soviet State planning committee, the Ministry for External Economic Relations and the Ministry of Finances about these and other agreements.

Economic Cooperation Accord Signed With Poland

LD1809213490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1549 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Sep (TASS)—A one-year agreement on cooperation between the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CIC) and the Polish National Economic Chamber (NEC) was signed here today.

Vladimir Malkevich, chairman of the CIC Presidium, and Andrzej Arendarski, chairman of the NEC Presidium, who signed the document, stressed in their speeches that the previous cooperation agreements were in force for 15 years, and they have already contributed to the development of economic ties between the USSR and Poland. However, deep changes taking place in the economy, in the policy of both countries, and in the transfer to the market, set new tasks before the chambers, and led to the conclusion of a new, quality document, a document which reflects contemporary realities.

The two sides undertook to promote the development of direct contacts between Polish and Soviet associations, unions, individual enterprises, and companies in order to implement joint projects in economic fields, the agreement states.

It was decided to prepare and sign a treaty on setting up a joint informational system. Both chambers will pay special attention to the search for new forms of economic cooperation such as joint ventures, industrial cooperation, construction of facilities in other countries, creation of economic zones, and preparation of managerial staffs for foreign economic activities.

Polish Leader's First Year in Government Viewed

PM1909120190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent A. Starukhin under the rubric "East Europe: Political Barometer": "Poland—365 Days Have Passed"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Sep—It is a year since the new Polish Government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki set about carrying out its duties. This cabinet's activities will in any case go down in history for the very reason that they mark the country's turning to a different political and economic method of development.

How has the government progressed over the year, what has it managed to do, and what changes in Poles' everyday life have proved undesirable, unacceptable, and controversial? As is considered here, Poland was the first East European country to fully stabilize its national currency exchange rate in relation to the dollar from the beginning of the year, and to achieve internal convertibility. Most types of output, which were previously produced thanks to state subsidies, are now turned out on the basis of economic accountability.

What can the ruling cabinet be reproached for? Over 60 percent of leadership cadres in Poland have been replaced in a year. The conclusion of the head of cabinet's current opponents: The driver's seat is occupied not so much by competent as loyal people, and the former nomenklatura has been replaced by a new one. Much is spoken about pluralism of opinions, although, alas, access to the mass media is far from adequate for various parties. The attitude to various trade unions does not look neutral either, since the premier (as they sometimes note in trade union centers) always remembers his "origins," and he originated from "Solidarity." The Catholic Church's influence is clearly discernible in the government's actions.

But the cabinet, remaining true to itself, continues to implement its ideas unwaveringly. It is a good thing that in the main they suit the country's citizens.

Polish Solidarity Figure on Party Split

PM1709150090 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 36, 9 Sep 90 p 12

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak by Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya in Warsaw; date not given: "Easier But Not Better!"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] "It is not where a border runs that is important but how penetrable it is on both sides," Zbigniew Bujak, one of the best known figures in Solidarity, said. A power technician from the Ursus Plant, he was a very active organizer of the strike in 1980-1981, chairman of the independent trade union in the Mazowsze region of Warsaw, and member of the national Solidarity leadership. When martial law was introduced, he went underground, where he continued the struggle and so adroitly eluded pursuit that he became a living legend. He was the last to be arrested—not until spring 1986. He is a laureate of the Kennedy Human Rights Prize. He is currently chairman of the board of the St. Batory Foundation and national representative of the Citizens' Movement-Democratic Action Party.

[Pavlova-Silvanskaya] Poland is going through a difficult time. Most people prefer to stick together at such times but you have done the exact opposite and formed an opposition to L. Walesa. Why?

[Bujak] When a country with a rich political life experiences crisis, a government of national unity or national accord is formed and it conducts a coordinated policy for as long as is needed to resolve the crisis. By contrast, our own political scene is extremely poor: Just one party—the ruling party (which, until recently, was the Polish United Workers' Party)—plus quasi-parties linked to it by something resembling a coalition. In this kind of situation, it is far more difficult to speak of a general policy.

At first we believed that unity was possible. Very different people were gathered in the Solidarity camp but we hoped to be able to draw up a general policy regarding the government and conclude an agreement for a definite period.

The split in Solidarity has undermined the stability of the Polish political scene and this will be damaging to us.

Foreign investors are now most likely to take a wait-and-see attitude, which could lead to massive unemployment in the fall.

I do not deny, however, that the split in Solidarity can be viewed from a different angle. There are now some 200 political parties in Poland but none of them carries any great weight. The only forces with any influence are those which have sprung from Solidarity: The Center Alliance and the Citizens' Movement-Democratic Action Party. We have a situation where Solidarity is a source for the formation of a dualist parliamentary system, under which the majority party forms a strong government and a strong opposition effectively modifies executive power, that is, the government. These are attributes of a democracy.

[Pavlova-Silvanskaya] What has the new party learned from Solidarity traditions?

[Bujak] Tolerance, first and foremost. In 1980-1981 there was no place in Solidarity for anti-Semitism, anti-German, anti-Russian, or anti-Ukrainian phobias, or a sense of superiority over Czechs and Slovaks. But chauvinist sentiments have now surfaced and even faith and the cross are beginning to be used as weapons in battle. In the past, nationalists were forced to submit to Solidarity traditions and did not dare to utter even a word that would reveal what they thought in reality. But, after the split, they seemed to feel they were outside the limits of Solidarity and ceased to restrain themselves. If Lech had said: "There will be no split, we will stay together," the old ethics would have remained and nationalists would have found themselves on the sidelines of political life. But election campaigns and competition have their own laws. Politicians bandy about populist slogans at rallies, and they often find a response; this is not only happening in Poland but in all postcommunist societies.

[Pavlova-Silvanskaya] Lech Walesa insists on "acceleration." This is a word familiar to our ear. But we have failed to galvanize development in the Soviet Union. How do you view the Polish version of acceleration?

[Bujak] This word probably has a different meaning in our country. The Center Alliance insists on accelerating privatization and structural changes in industry but has offered no suggestions as to how to compensate for the resulting job cuts. If left uninterpreted, the slogan of acceleration sounds like a promise that things will soon be better for all of us and that we will resolve our difficulties more quickly. But that is not true: There is no rapid solution to our economic problems.

There is also another aspect to the "acceleration" slogan: the acceleration of political transformations, that is, punishment of the nomenklatura in the form of prosecution for the crimes it has committed. But who is to do this? The police, the public prosecutor's office, the courts? They all need reform themselves. Rough justice, perhaps? What would happen if the crowd were to start seeking out criminals, driving them from their homes, and lynching them in the streets? Apart from all that, in a totalitarian state the police, the public prosecutor's office, and the courts are an armed apparatus. If applied to them, "acceleration" threatens to develop into armed struggle. No, I do not want that to happen. I have had enough of uprisings and revolutions. First, they do no good and, second, they are very expensive.

[Pavlova-Silvanskaya] So you do not approve of appealing to the crowd....

[Bujak] No. It is dangerous to appeal to the crowd and stir it up at a time when we are moving away from totalitarianism toward democracy. It is all too easy to make people believe that there is another way—better and easier.

[Pavlova-Silvanskaya] If the presidential elections in Poland change the political climate in the country, how will this affect relations with the sovereign Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania?

[Bujak] This will mainly depend on the policies adopted by our eastern neighbors. If there is a wave of nationalism and those people retreat within their borders and only look inwards, I would be very cautious in our contacts. We must ask ourselves: Do we want to become part of Europe? After all, if we choose the path of separatism, we will only be interested in it as a source of potential threat.

Borders are now opening up in Western Europe. You still have to show your passport but no one takes any particular interest in it. They do not search your baggage—they simply stamp your passport and let you through. On some crossings there are no controls at all: You can simply go from one country to another, buy what you need, and go back home. People live where they want, work where they want, and go where they want. This is not the result of some whim on the part of politicians. People want freedom of movement. If we recognize this as a fundamental value and build our policy in line with this principle, it will not be where a border runs that is important but how penetrable it is on both sides. We must work to ensure that everyone can legally buy land wherever they want, build whatever kind of factory they want, or set up a farm and produce whatever they want. If postcommunist states move rapidly toward this kind of open foreign policy, it will be possible to avoid passions over borders. If, however, in the process of restoring national identity, the greatest importance is attached to borders, national interests, and so forth, civil wars and even interstate conflicts could flare up. We are at a crossroads: Either we remain backward countries or we show ourselves, by conducting an open policy, to be worthy of being accepted by the European nations into their midst.

Soviet, GDR Officials Discuss Railway System

PM1809141590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Gaburyanskaya: "USSR-Germany: How Is Freight To Be Transported?"]

[Text] Moscow—Talks were held at the Ministry of Railways between representatives of the Soviet railroads, the maritime fleet, and foreign trade organizations with a German delegation on questions of organizing freight shipments by international railroad and rail ferry.

G. Fadeyev, USSR first deputy minister of railways; V. Butkov, deputy minister; and B. Reckel, GDR first deputy transport minister, took part in these talks, along with representatives of the FRG Federal Transport Ministry.

It was pointed out at the conference that changes in the GDR economic structure during the transition to the market have made it impossible to exercise centralized control over the stream of exports and imports. A joint quest for effective ways of establishing the balance that has been upset in transport exchange between our countries is therefore necessary.

Proposals were considered regarding the provision of regular freight transportation between states and increasing the amount of rail-ferry transport in the Baltic.

Representatives of Soviet and German transport organizations advocated preserving partnership relations and developing links between the USSR and a future united Germany in the sphere of transport.

Joint GDR Commission on Presence of Troops

LD1809225790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1748 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin, 18 Sep (TASS)—The 49th session of the joint USSR-GDR commission has been held in Berlin today. The GDR delegation was headed by Helmut Domke, state secretary of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the USSR delegation by Gennadiy S. Shikin, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

During the session which took place in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere, some issues relating to the presence of the western group of troops on the territory of the GDR were discussed.

'Centralism' Reemerging in Romanian Economy

PM1909092190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent V. Vedrashko under the rubric "East Europe: Political Barometer": "Romania—The Old Routine for a While Longer"]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 Sep—A considerable number of questions arise following the coming into force of the law on the transformation of all enterprises into autonomous economic units in Romania.

Will the plants and factories previously included in the administrative edict system be able to ensure their supplies and sale of output from now on? Many specialists reply skeptically. After all, even under the harsh old system precious few people were fully answerable for not fulfilling mutual commitments. And what will happen tomorrow—won't there be any discipline at all?

In the eight months since the regime was replaced, it has just not been possible to switch on market mechanisms in the Romanian economy. The notorious "telephone conferences" with prefects of all regions have started once again. Newspapers note that these are attributes of the former centralism in the economy.

Reports are also multiplying about the fact that officials at various levels are concealing the true state of affairs. A new censorship or an "ostrich policy?"—newspapers inquire anxiously.

West Europe

Norwegian Military Inspectors View Border Area

LD1809210690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report of an interview with Colonel (Overland), commander-in-chief in a Norwegian province, by correspondent Dmitriy Kiselev; in Oslo; date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—(Overland) comments in Norwegian fading into Russian translation]

[Text] Norwegian military inspectors have visited the Kola peninsula, where, according to western assessments, the most powerful Soviet naval base and over half our nuclear potential are located. The unprecedented inspection was carried out in connection with exercises that were not widely publicized in the Soviet press.

Upon returning to Oslo, Colonel (Overland) commander-in-chief of land forces in the province of Finnmark, declared in an interview with local television that the Soviet Union is rigorously observing the Stockholm agreements, and added:

[Begin (Overland) recording] Naturally we were received with true Russian hospitality, and our hosts did everything possible to help us to carry out all the tasks stipulated by the international agreements. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Confident About Holding Elections

LD1809173290 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] President Gorbachev has expressed confidence that elections will be held in the Soviet Union in the near future according to party lists. The INTERFAX news agency reports the Soviet leader told this to MPs during a break in between the parliamentary sittings. Parliament discussed the presidential program for transition to a market along with the alternative programs, and there are signs that the MP's are inclined to accept it.

President Gorbachev pointed out that a great deal depends on whether this far-reaching economic issue geis action on [as heard]. The time and events, he said, steadily clear the way for greater democracy. He dismissed as groundless accusations that he wants as much power as possible for himself. The president set all those present laughing when he said he will withstand any accusation, even if everybody looks for a new St. Helena Island.

Dr. Stanislav Shatalin, the architect of a program for transition to a market, was by President Gorbachev's side when he said he is ready to make Gorbachev company [as heard]. The president described as vain [as heard] the fears that the privatization process will get out of control and national property will go to a group of people. We'll find the levers to forestall this, he said.

'Special Rights' for President Considered

LD1809193590 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksyonov]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—None spoke out against the idea of market-oriented economy at today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet parliament which discussed plans for putting the country on a market basis. All agreed that there was no alternative to the market, but differed on the ways of implementing the transition.

Number one question is, of course, that of social guarantees. Nikolay Travkin in an emotional address to the parliament said "There is no more time left. The people demand: Do something, get moving."

On the Shatalin plan, the deputy said that "it is not an hour-by- hour schedule for the movement towards the market, but it is movement."

He explained the hasty approval of the Shatalin plan by the Russian Parliament by the pressure of time, not by the desire for confrontation with the centre.

Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev voiced support for the transition to a market economy, but devoted the bulk of his speech to problems of the Soviet Armed Forces. He stressed that "military danger to the Soviet Union persists—not an invented but real danger." Akhromeyev blasted the approach to discredit the government.

Deputy Vladimir Kirillov pointed to numerous similar components in the Shatalin plan and the government programme. He stressed the central significance of privatisation and called for guarantees of entrepreneurial activity and foreign investments.

According to Nikolay Sazonov, the proposed plans have one weak spot in common—"They fail to reflect the interests of the specific individual." He advocated an evaluation of the national property, including the property owned by public organisation.

Sazonov asked which Soviet citizens will be able to purchase state assets in the course of the sell-off and answered that only "20 percent of the population have some capital, while the rest live from payday to payday."

According to him, there are 100,000 millionaires in the Soviet Union at present.

The parliament considered a draft resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on granting special rights to the Soviet president for the period of the country's transition to market relations. Deputies refused to approve the draft and decide to send it back to committees and commissions to be finalised.

Deputy Yuriy Borodin advocated "a good publicity campaign to accompany the transition."

Tomorrow and on Thursday, parliament members will work in committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Remarks by Sobchak, Golyakov, Burlatskiy Noted

LD1809124790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 18 Sep—TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov and Andrey Orlov report from the Kremlin [on the Supreme Session today]: [passage omitted]

The discussion of the proposed drafts demonstrated that the deputies do basically support the president's program. They noted the need for matters of the social protection of the population in conditions of a transition to the market to be carefully worked through. It was to this that Deputy Aleksandr Golyakov largely devoted his speech, touching upon the situation of tens of millions of pensioners.

Fedor Burlatskiy spoke of the importance of the coming decision, describing the transition to the market as "a step toward a contemporary civilization." He proposed approving the basic principles of a market economy presented in the president's program. Calling on his

colleagues to take decisive measures, Burlatskiy in conclusion quoted Napoleon who believed that "one must get involved in the fight. One must take a bold step."

Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, sees a danger in the fact that the Union republics, after adopting declarations of sovereignty, feel it is possible not to comply with the obligations they previously assumed. Thus, entire regions have ceased their deliveries of food to Leningrad, he said. "No program will be possible to implement if things carry on like this. Rigorous accords and stern measures of accountability are needed up to and including exclusion from the Union of those republics that violate accords unilaterally," Anatoliy Sobchak stated.

Ryzhkov 'Remains Loyal' to His Economic Program

LD1809154290 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Nikolay Ryzhkov remains loyal to his guarded approach to market relations, and he believes this approach clashes with Dr. Stanislav Shatalin's radical program. Mr. Ryzhkov said as much in an interview with newsmen when parliament had an interval.

He said his government can carry out the program it trusts and no other program. What he dislikes about Dr. Shatalin's program is letting prices float during the first 100 days. The prime minister feels prices must not be rid of control so quickly, otherwise they will start soaring away. His own program provides for controlling prices until at least the year 1992.

The prime minister warned parliament against long discussions of the transition to a market. If they take at least one month, he said, there will be no time left for drawing up the budget for next year and the nation will face very bad problems.

Akhromeyev Reviews National Defense Capability

LD1809212290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1758 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Comments by Deputy Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev at the 18 September USSR Supreme Soviet session held in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Deputy Akhromeyev analyzed the president's program from the standpoint of the country's defense capacity.

[Akhromeyev] Reserves are built up gradually over many decades. The program proposes removing them and using them for current requirements. It also proposes taking from the forces staff vehicles, civilian property—this is all I can see—and using them in the national economy. But if this is done to an unreasonable degree—and we must all be clear on this, comrades—our country's Army and Navy will be unarmed, and without food supplies and uniforms if the situation deteriorates. Remember how the population of Leningrad starved and perished in 1941-42, when the Hitlerites destroyed the city's undefended food stores. Without mobilization reserves, the country's Armed Forces are incapable of defending the motherland.

Further objection is caused by a proposal contained in the section on stepping up foreign economic ties, on page 55. In order to ensure an inflow of foreign capital into the country it is suggested that an urgent national program be drawn up to reduce the Army, weapons, and military expenditure. As a matter of principle I believe we should not adopt a stance that would allow foreign capital to dictate to us what the Soviet Union's foreign policy should be, and at what level the country's defense capability should be maintained. The country's level of defense capability is determined not by foreign capital but by the military-political situation in the world and around our country.

We need a strong economy to uphold state interests, but we also need modern and sufficient armed forces. For 16 years I have been involved in talks on reducing nuclear and conventional arms with representatives of the United States and I know how they conduct those talks—in a tough, combative, and skillful way, and the most important thing for them is national interests, for which they build and maintain their Armed Forces. We, too, need skill, firmness, and—if you like—flair in conducting these talks, but we also need forces in conducting these talks: forces not for aggression but to defend our interests.

At a time of instability in the world and within our country, and given the ethnic contradictions which have regrettably developed and the threat of the country's disintegration, we need the Armed Forces. This is not propaganda, but a sober view of reality. However hard it may be to say it, we must not forget the bitter and age-old truth: A people and a government that that show no concern for its army inevitably has severe trials ahead of it.

I am neither a demagogue nor a dreamer. International life demands that we look reality directly in the eye, and that reality does not tolerate military weakness in a great power like the Soviet Union. We must not forget that we possess nuclear weapons, which in times of instability may become a great source of danger both for the world and for us ourselves. The Army today must be protected and give help. Yes, cuts in military expenditure and conversion of military industry are esential. All this has to be thoroughly thought out, organized, and implemented. But this is by no means the elaboration of a national program for reducing our Army. These are not one and the same thing.

USSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings Detailed 18 Sep

LD1809191490

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1758 GMT on 18 September begins carrying a report on the 18 September USSR Supreme Soviet session held at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1758 GMT an unidentified announcer reports that Lukyanov chaired today's session. He says that Aganbegyan and Shatalin answered questions on social protection and other issues, while Abalkin spoke in detail on the government program for immediate price rises and subsequent policies.

At 1759 GMT, Deputy Komarov takes the floor. He states that the president's program must be taken into account as the cornerstone of any synthesized program that may yet emerge. He compares the government's program with Shatalin's program, saying the latter is lacking in such areas as welfare provisions for the population. He says that to suggest, as it does, that welfare programs must be suspended for a time is inadequate. Steps must be taken to prevent black marketeers from taking over private enterprise, says Komarov.

At 1803 GMT, Deputy Burlatskiy takes the floor. He says the government's program is less radical regarding goals, but more practical, because it is based on facts and figures. The Supreme Soviet could approve the direction and main principles of the presidential development program. He says the way is being paved for economic freedom so that collective and private property can coexist. Regarding prices, he indicates that they must be frozen for food and primary necessities, because more than half the population lives below the poverty line. He urges emergency powers for the Presidential Council and Federation Council to enable prompt and effective decisions to be made.

At 1807 GMT, Deputy Saunin says too much attention is being paid to perceived differences between both programs. He says they have more in common than differences. He says efforts must be made to find the most effective way out of the situation, and to pay less attention to who is the author of a particular program. In the meantime, he says, the economy is going from bad to worse. He states that vigorous measures are needed which the government program fails to specify. He prefers Shatalin's program since it is a more radical plan for switching to market relations. Shatalin's program is more specific about the future shape of the Union, proceeding from grass roots upwards and taking the interests of each republic into account, Saunin feels.

At 1812 GMT, Deputy Golikov says Shatalin's program needs further work. He says veterans are worried that the power of the center is going to be weakened and feel the center gets blamed for everything. Shatalin's program does nothing to rectify this, nor does it say much about welfare provisions. Land and private property should be subject to national referendum, says Golikov.

At 1815 GMT, Deputy Sobchak criticizes the government program saying its main contradiction is that the government says the time for step-by-step changes has run out, but offers a step-by-step approach anyway. No economic stabilization has taken place, as Abalkin prophesied some time ago. On 27 July the government advocated a joint program, but nothing came of this. Sobchak says Ryzhkov should explain this. The government impedes people who try to get facts and data to compile another program. He says all the variants of programs lack one thing—they do not provide for a mechanism for their implementation. The current soviets can not function in the form in which they exist now. He says we must stop spending money on all these regional parliaments—soviets—which sit all the time. Restrictions must be introduced. Union republics think that their own declarations of sovereingty release them from their contractual obligations, but no program can be imp'emented in this way. Agreements must be entered into and strictly observed, Sobchak says. If a republic violates these agreements, it can be excluded from the Union altogether. All economic programs must be comprehended by the people. Sobchak fully support Shatalin's program, but feels it is incomprehensible to the average person.

At 1824 GMT Deputy Boyko takes the floor in support of the government program, saying that it offers the shortest path to the final goal. The two variants do not differ all that much. Efforts must be pooled to solve important problems such as pricing, and experts must work out complex economic problems. He says the issue of dismantling state controls and privatization must not be handled like it was in Poland. He says the approach must be gradual and must provide for many options such as leasing, owner-workers, and so on. Boyko feels the president must have special powers to facilitate implementation of whatever program is adopted.

At 1832 GMT Deputy Ismailov dwells on the foreign economic activities of the Soviet Union. He says that is not clear how practical measures provided for in both programs will be implemented to stimulate foreign trade, and that appropriate laws must first be passed. Political stabilization is essential in the country, he says. Republics should pass a joint declaration to establish a proper atmosphere in the country in which work can be done.

At 1837 GMT Deputy Pupkevich says that if market relations provide a good life for the elite, he does not want them. When he was team leader, his team's productivity was on a par with that in the United States and the FRG. The strong must work to support the weak. How can some people assert that the Army is not needed or that less money must be spent on the KGB in a situation in which speculation is rife. He says this can be seen by who has apartments—the speculators. He urges measures to find out how to equitably distribute what has been produced. He compares the situation to a bus

stuck in the mud but no one wants to get out to help or decide whether to go forward or go back. He says everyone should get out of the bus and push. We need resolute measures now.

At 1844 GMT Deputy Yakovlev says he prefers the president's decision for a synthesised program. He lists shortcomings in Shatalin's program such as no compensation for price hikes, no clear measures in the area of pricing, and no clarity with regard to the issues of property and ownership. Trade unions' property must not be privatized. Market infrastructure must be set up if central controls are to be dismantled, he says.

At 1850 GMT Deputy Bronshteyn says we must approve the president's program despite the problems such as how to carry out privatization and so on. A start must be made. The first hundred days will be the most difficult. He prefers Shatalin's program as more based on reality, whether we like it or not. It takes into account sovereignty of republics and provides for a single, common economic zone, shared by all. Some laws in force are incompatible with market relations, so new laws must be passed. Political problems must be separated from economic problems, otherwise we will get bogged down. We must begin with the economic union. He stresses ending the conflict between the executive and the legislative bodies and setting up joint executive and legislative bodies such as a joint committee of the common market in which everyone is represented.

At 1857 GMT Deputy Vasilyev discusses the issue of privatization. He asks if there will be worker owners and peasant owners, saying this question must be resolved. Incentives for work will be created. There is nothing terrible about going bankrupt, he says—in the United States 2,000 enterprises go bankrupt annually and 2,000 new ones take their place. He says not to criticize Shatalin's program too much, as it is not all that bad.

At 1903 GMT Deputy Tsybukh praises youth enterprises and their attitude toward environmental protection. He says it is difficult to understand the authors of the 500 days program, who suggest that social welfare program should be cut. Tsybukh stresses protecting young people.

At 1907 GMT Deputy Oleynik speaks on care regarding the nationalities issue. He asks: How will the other republics react to the fact that the proposed Shatalin program is a reworking of the RSFSR's 500-day program?

At 1911 GMT Lukyanov gives the floor to Travkin at the start of the evening sitting. Travkin criticizes the government program for wasting time. We must move immediately, he says. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet has discussed the two plans and has come to the same conclusion. Shatalin's program is attractive because it seeks to finance the switch to the market by cutting expenditures which do not directly affect people's lives, such as foreign aid, military expenditure, etc. He says there is no right to transfer the responsibility of choice to the republican supreme soviets. Reform should be set in motion by 1 October.

At 1917 GMT Deputy Akhromeyev discusses the proposed cuts in military expenditure, warning that the forces may be emasculated by such a program. He says foreign capital cannot be allowed to dictate military and foreign policy to the Soviet Union. To conduct arms negotiations with other countries and stabilize the ethnic situation in the country requires armed forces. He stresses that the Army must be given help today.

At 1921 GMT the report briefly rounds up the remarks by various deputies. The announcer indicates that the discussion on the extension of presidential powers during the market transition period has been postponed to the next plenary session.

At 1922 GMT the report on the 18 September USSR Supreme Soviet session concludes.

17 Sep Supreme Soviet Proceedings Outlined

LD1709220690

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 17 September begins carrying a report on the 17 September proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The report begins with an unidentified television correspondent introducing the proceedings.

At 1801 GMT, Academician Abel Aganbegyan takes the floor. The Yeltsin-Gorbachev group has achieved something impossible: it arrived at a consensus, fundamental accords were achieved, economic functions were distributed between the Union and republics. Aganbegyan also comments on various clauses of the conciliatory program.

At 1817 GMT, Shatalin takes the floor and explains that his purpose was to show how to go over to a market economy.

At 1829 GMT, Abalkin takes the floor to present the government program. At 1841 GMT, Deputy Vologzhin takes the floor to underline differences between the programs going into detail on economic issues.

At 1850 GMT the debate opens. Deputy Ivanov speaks of regional problems and their neglect in both programs. He finds fault with both the government and the Shatalin programs. A referendum is needed, he says.

At 1856 GMT, Deputy Lisitskiy expresses doubts about the correctness of the demonopolization policy. Instead, small enterprises should be given a boost. The president must issue a decree to stabilize economic links.

At 1902 GMT, Deputy Roy Medvedev says we are not economists but have to choose between two programs. Medvedev prefers the Shatalin program, although it is

perhaps too radical and, therefore, too risky. The government program is more drawn out but it suits the population's mentality. He lambasts those who went to the demonstration yesterday instead of helping to bring in the harvest. We should help our government which may not be very efficient but is extremely experience and skilled. All previous economic programs ever adopted in the country failed because they were rushed through.

At 1912 GMT, Deputy Zhuravlev says he is satisfied with the unhurrried way the discussion has developed. He hopes that the next economic plan will be the last. The proposed variant should be adopted with certain amendments. He agrees with Medvedev that the population is unaware of what awaits it.

At 1919 GMT, Deputy Starodubtsev talks about land reform. He is unhappy with the privatization of farms. The proposed reform regards agriculture as something separate from the rest of the economy, he says. Peasants are in favor of a regulated market. On behalf of the Peasant's Union, he warns against adopting the Shatalin program, otherwise an extraordinary Peasants Congress will be convened.

At 1926 GMT, Deputy Auyelbekov says discipline should be tightened and contracts observed. Whatever the program adopted, national conflicts and strikes should be brought to an end.

At 1929 GMT, Deputy Ternyuk compares the two programs and says that a third way should be found. The system of administration must be altered at both top and bottom levels. New economic levers should be introduced. The price formation system must be changed in such a way that retail prices remain under control.

At 1935 GMT, Deputy Samarin speaks in favor of the Shatalin program.

At 1936 GMT, an unidentified deputy criticizes the Shatalin program for neglecting the social sphere. The government program is not much better in this respect, though.

At 1940 GMT, Deputy Voblikov calls on the deputies to instill trust in the program among the population. Extraordinary measures are required for implementing the program.

AT 1944 GMT, Deputy Sukhov asks whether or not socialism will survive the Shatalin program.

At 1948 GMT, Deputy Yemelyanov says the market is being interpreted as a new version of the notorious "bright future". The idea of the market should be made more attractive for the population. Also, resistance from the party bureaucracy cannot be discounted as a serious factor which may hamper progress toward the market.

At 1954 GMT, a deputy expresses doubts about the validity of both programs. First of all, executive power must be strengthened because good laws are being adopted but they are not being enforced. A properly developed social sphere in the countryside is a precondition for developing agriculture.

At 1958 GMT, Deputy Martirosyan calls on the deputies to show trust in the Gorbachev-Yeltsin alliance.

At 2000 GMT, Deputy Bocharov comments on specific clauses of the Shatalin program.

At 2008 GMT, Deputy Orlov says people are not interested in theoretical discussions but in palpable results. Well-stocked shops will be the best argument. The issue of ownership has not been elaborated enough.

At 2014 GMT, Anatoliy Lukyanov says that 16 deputies have spoken. He goes on to read a note on the hunger strike by Armenian deputies demanding restoration of Soviet power in Nagorno-Karabakh.

At 2018 GMT, deputies decide to continue discussion at a joint meeting of the chambers on 18 September, the announcer says.

At 2019 GMT, the report ends.

Parliament Economic Reform Debate Reported

PM1809131590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by E. Gonzalyez and R. Lynev: "Submit Your Arguments; USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions Continue Discussion of Programs for Transition to Market"]

[Text] On Friday [14 September] the deputies who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions in whose competence problems of economic and social policy are concentrated heard the main question of the fourth session of parliament: measures to stabilize the economy and the transition to the market. Probably everyone here already knows the set-up. There is a draft government program. A second draft (known as the "500 days" program). And a third, "synthetic," draft—the result of the merging of the two first drafts which takes into account the proposals of the Union republics, and other alternative options.

A group of scientists under the leadership of Academician L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, worked on the government draft. Work on the second draft was headed by Academician S. Shatalin. With the aid of the press and television the reader and viewer already know that some scientists and politicians believe that these two drafts are fundamentally incompatible, while others, on the contrary, see much in common in them. The group headed by Academician A. Aganbegyan, in no way connected with either the former or the latter, was instructed to produce a synthesis in literally days.

As arbiter and intermediary, A. Aganbegyan was given the floor first. And he said immediately that his group,

considering everything of value contained in the two drafts, had taken the Shatalin option as a basis. Why?

Because, first, it considers a very important change in our life which the government draft does not even mention, to wit: that the Soviet Union virtually no longer exists in its previous form. Instead of a unitary state retreating into the past, a new union—of sovereign states—can and must be formed.

Not so long ago a reform could be launched in the usual way—from the center "down" to the republics—without any great consideration for the difference in their economic conditions. But today even a sensible impulse from above will inevitably be interpreted as diktat and pressure and rejected. Failing to consider this means dooming reform to certain failure.

The second result was that those who raised questions have been transformed from opponents of the draft into its allies, ready to support the draft in the republic parliaments and even in its practical implementation; that is, to act in a common channel. That is where the origin of the new union lies—in the economy, in a common union market.

One more important factor which A. Aganbegyan sees in the Shatalin concept compared with the government concept is that it proposes to begin reform with financial and monetary balance—as the basis of the reform's further headway. It is planned to achieve this as soon as possible. And only then, gradually and under strict control, should prices be released. First of all for nonessentials. Prices for basic foods and necessities should be completely frozen for the transitional period.

S. Shatalin addressed the hearing in his natural polemical manner, noting that 99.5 percent of the third, coordinated program option consists of developments of his group (and L. Abalkin, who spoke later, confirmed this).

What guided the group here? The desire to create a normal economy instead of an economy of distorting mirrors, S. Shatalin said. In more detail, the ideological foundations of his concept look like this. First of all nothing must be imposed on anyone. That is why the concept does not give categorical preference to any one form of ownership, for instance private ownership, but recognizes that each form should be freely chosen with a consideration for specific conditions and should find its niche in social production.

Realizing as well as anyone that the main protagonist of economic management should in principle be the producer and entrepreneur, S. Shatalin called for a consideration of the reality that has taken shape today—the powerful movement for independence and sovereignty in all republics. Hence the new role and place of the republics in implementing reforms envisaged by the "500 days" draft.

Why 500 days? He, Shatalin, personally does not attach great importance to this symbolic round figure. In his opinion what is more important here is not so much the name's expressiveness and comprehensibility to the broad public (although this also militates in the draft's favor) as the opportunity to control the course of the program's fulfillment by parliament, the public, and each person.

Here is a curious point: For all the categorical nature of statements that their draft can in no way be combined with the government draft, the members of S. Shatalin's group and he himself at the same time admit the weakness of a number of sections (the agrarian section, for instance) and speak of their draft's openness to proposals and further work.

Well, finally S. Shatalin set forth before the deputies the trump card in favor of the president's option that is its verification among workers, where the draft, although it failed to generate a delighted "hurrah," nonetheless was generally welcomed with understanding ("normally," as the academician put it).

Of course, we are omitting a number of details in the speeches of both S. Shatalin and L. Abalkin, who defended the draft government program, and we are trying to highlight what seemed most important.

As for L. Abalkin, he recalled that the second congress of people's deputies approved the schedule for the transition to the market and the stages proposed by the government and had expressed complete trust in the government itself. In fulfilling the congress' targets the government commission for economic reform completed work on a draft while the government, alongside its current concerns, prepared the legal basis for the future market, acting as the initiator in the adoption of important laws like those on the enterprise, ownership, taxation, and pensions. And take the recent USSR Council of Ministers resolution on small enterprises and on measures for demonopolization. As components of the future market these measures will begin to operate in the system with other measures envisaged in the draft.

L. Abalkin sees in the above-mentioned desire of his opponents to reform the economy not through the center but through the republics—expanding their sovereignty and encroaching on the enterprises' independence—a violation of the sequence for implementing the reform and, moreover, of the law and the constitution. Leonid Ivanovich cited a number of more specific arguments which, of course, he had not made up out of thin air.

G. Yavlinskiy—the main author of the "500 days" program—was listened to with great interest. In the Russian parliament he has already answered deputies' numerous questions and his program withstood the test. Now Yavlinskiy has shown his readiness for a new test—in the Union parliament. His criticism of the

government's draft program was tactful but uncompromising, particularly when it got to measures envisaged by the draft such as the administrative increase of prices as of early next year.

Seeking at the same time to warn those ready to believe in the "500 days" program as a miracle, Yavlinskiy explained that of itself its implementation does not mean that as a result we shall reach the market. The necessary conditions for the transition to normal market relations will merely be created. And it seems that all four agreed that any program, even the best, will inevitably be distrusted if the atmosphere of anarchy and nonfulfillment of the laws at all levels continues in the country and if inefficiency and lack of discipline continue to rule.

The answers to deputies' questions in fact began with Yavlinskiy's speech. The academicians came to the rostrum in the second round, enlisting as experts on particular sections of the programs their own immediate compilers or department leaders.

G. Yavlinskiy appears to have answered 25 questions. S. Shatalin, L. Abalkin, A. Aganbegyan, B. Fedorov, and others were "tormented" to a lesser but also respectable extent. What primarily interested the deputies? Future retail prices or unemployment under market conditions? Nothing of the kind. The package of questions on prices and price formation according to our estimation only came second. Unemployment was either completely forgotten or not considered worthy of attention. Perhaps it was implied in "inter alia" during the discussion of social guarantees and the protection of various groups of the population—questions on this topic followed the possible increase in prices.

But in first place in terms of the number and persistence of the questioners there came, utterly unexpectedly for us and, it seems, to the programs' authors, the problem of the participation of the autonomous republics and oblasts in the process of the transition to the market. It looks as though the economists had reckoned that there were no problems at all here.

"From the economic viewpoint the autonomous republic differs little from an ordinary republic. Existing important differences relate to the political sphere and the problems which arise here must be resolved not in the program for transition to the market but in the Union treaty"—that was more or less how S. Shatalin answered the first question.

But questions about the place and role of autonomous bodies surfaced again and again—formulated slightly differently or put head on: "Are the program's authors not infringing the peoples' rights..."

The authors patiently explained that no, they were not, that everything had been agreed with everyone and approved and will be discussed and coordinated further. But 20-30 minutes passed and again there was a question about autonomy.

To what does this attest? To the growth of national self-awareness? Probably. But even more probably to how badly we are all living if we are prepared to rush in all directions. As one speaker said, it looks as if customs barriers will appear between different Moscow rayons.

From Academician L. Abalkin's answers it is perhaps worth highlighting one which makes it possible to guess the nature of many of the others.

"Do you believe that '500 days' can lead to the country's prosperity or at least to the creation of a reliable market mechanism?"

"No, I do not."

Although Leonid Ivanovich also objectively noted many aspects in which the program submitted by the president is virtually no different from the government program.

Approximately the same question was put to Academician A. Aganbegyan. He replied that the program proposed by the president can be feasibly implemented but on one essential condition: It must become close to the Union republics, simply their own program.

The stabilization of the ruble and the recovery of finances—everyone realizes that these are essential initial conditions. But there is no agreement on how to achieve this. L. Abalkin does not think that the initial stage of the composite program—the first 100 days—will be successful and that the decline in the ruble's purchasing power will not be even halted.

G. Yavlinskiy tried to persuade the deputies that everything is possible. He spoke confidently, vigorously, and even sharply in places. After that L. Abalkin decided to introduce fresh forces—V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank, and A. Komin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices—to the polemics.

In our view it would have been better not to do that. The management old guard is obviously giving way to the young people from Shatalin's group—to Yavlinskiy and to B. Fedorov and M. Zadornov who spoke later. It is giving way on indicators like resolve, confidence, and vigor. What you cannot deny it has is a knowledge of the economic situation.

But this knowledge is somewhat specific. While there is a noting of facts, an enumeration of problems, a description of shortcomings, blunders, loose ends, and other difficulties then everything is normal, they are fully informed. As soon as people turned to the sacred question "what is to be done," there was complete inertia. That cannot be touched upon, that is not amenable to reorganization, one thing is connected with another, but another entails something quite different. And that's all.

But the "irresponsible" specialists from Shatalin's group recognize no framework. Everything is possible for them—including paying no attention to a law, even if it

has only just been adopted, but is already impeding the implementation of the program.

Ye. Yasin, who spoke on behalf of the working group which elaborated the "500 days" program, said approximately the following on this subject: "I see a shortcoming of the government program in the fact that it remains completely calm with regard to finances and money. This merely confirms what Gerashchenko has said here."

But what did he say? That nothing can be done. And if something is done then we will have to cut into living flesh. But we still must cut.

The deputies seem to understand this. And we think this is why they put almost identical questions to G. Yavlinskiy, S. Shatalin, and A. Aganbegyan. The first was: Who will be responsible for the program's implementation and possible failure?

Yavlinskiy said that everyone would be responsible; those who elaborated it and those who approved and adopted it.

Shatalin said that he is prepared to bear responsibility in any form.

Aganbegyan is also prepared, for he expressed agreement with the program presented by the president.

And one more question for S. Shatalin and A. Aganbegyan: Are you prepared to head a team engaged in implementing the program?

Shatalin did not say "yes" directly but you could understand from his reply that if he has to be persuaded it will not take long. "Whoever you ask will do it," was how Stanislav Sergeyevich ended.

"I did not elaborate the program," Aganbegyan replied, "and, naturally, I cannot implement it. In my view it should be done not so much by an economist as by a politician—there are so many participants, contradictions, and agreements here..."

Who will head the implementation of the new program is of course a difficult question. But after all the program has not yet been chosen. So far only one person has announced his choice. And to judge by the debates, which continued from morning until evening, it will be no less difficult for the deputies to make a choice than it was recently for the president.

Political & Social

Rumors of Army Coup d'Etat in Moscow

PM1809152690 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 15 Sep 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Russian Minister Fears Coup in Moscow"]

[Text] The possibility that a coup d'etat is being planned in Moscow was admitted yesterday at Espinho by Russian Deputy Defense Minister Vladimir Lopotin [name and title as published].

"I believe, however, that such an action is doomed to failure because support for reforms within the Armed Forces has greatly increased," added Lopotin, who is also a member of the USSR's National Security Commission. According to Lopotin, "the nearer the conservative sectors come to their goal, the more aggressive they become."

Vladimir Lopotin, who is attending in the conference entitled "Europe—Great Challenges and Strategies," stressed that in the Soviet Union "there is an attempt to expel from the Armed Forces officers who do not think the same way as the military chiefs.

"In our country the democratization processes are lagging behind those announced abroad," the Soviet leader said, criticizing the policy of militarization that "the ruling party has again announced."

According to Lopotin, the conversion of the defense industry affects only 3 percent of the military-industrial complex, while the level of production is to be maintained for an indefinite period.

"The Army is still used as an instrument of party politics, and a process of integrating the military leaderships into the party machinery is currently under way," Lopotin said, adding that with regard to the military field, in order to justify the militarization the conservative sectors in the USSR "artificially lower the level of the Soviet military strength and raise that of other countries."

As an example of this dishonest practice, Lopotin cited a USSR publication entitled "The Correlation of Forces in Europe" which reports that in 1988 Portugal had 150 fighter aircraft, 470 tanks, and 1,879 artillery pieces... In fact the Portuguese Armed Forces have only nine aircraft, 86 tanks, and 550 artillery pieces. Where did they hide the rest?" Lopotin quipped.

"In 1987 the USSR claimed to have 15,000 tanks. In 1988 it already had 20,000 more than NATO, and in 1989 this number rose to 40,000. In fact we have 64,000 tanks—more than all the other countries of the world put together," Lopotin said.

Signs of Instability

According to the LUSA news agency, a source at the conference in Espinho said that apart from the absence of several individuals from the meeting due to the Gulf crisis, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov did not appear on the first day because of "the USSR's internal situation."

Shatalin Urges U.S.-Style Presidency in USSR

OW1809132190 Tokyo KYODO in English 1304 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 18 KYODO—The Soviet Union should introduce a "United States-style presidency" to realize a quick shift to a market economy, said reformist academic Stanislav Shatalin, the architect of the radical economic plan approved Tuesday.

In an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Shatalin said the current post of premier under the president should be abolished to carry out the economic policy change as early as possible.

He said the issue is up to President Mikhail Gorbachev to decide.

Shatalin proposed the provisional introduction for 18 months of an inter-republic economic committee, if the premiership is scrapped. Shatalin, a member of the country's Presidential Council, expressed dissatisfaction over Gorbachev's defense of Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov. Radical reformists are demanding Ryzhkov's resignation for failing to provide major economic proposals. He said the president is a man of "good personality," but that can be both a virtue and a vice.

Shatalin is head of a group to work out a policy draft to transform the centralized Soviet economy into a market-oriented one.

The idea was agreed upon in August by Gorbachev and his rival reformist, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. The Russian Federation on September 11 adopted Shatalin's plan, including embrace of the market system, and private ownership of land within 500 days. Referring to the counter proposal from the federal government, Shatalin said the plan includes a possibile price hike under government administrative orders.

He also criticized the proposal, which opposes private ownership of the land, and is based on the idea of centralized command of the future federation system. Shatalin dismissed charges that his proposal, which seeks drastic liberalization of economic activities, is a path to capitalism.

"I don't really know what socialism is or what capitalism is. The important point is to feed the nation by an effective use of resources," Shatalin said. Regarding the ongoing serious shortage of food and other goods in the Soviet Union, which is considered the worst since the end of World War II, Shatalin pointed out that "sabotage" acts by bureaucrats with political ambitions is one factor.

He said his plan is supported by Gorbachev, and should pass the nation's legislature, the Supreme Soviet. But he predicted the draft would not be adopted by October 1, as expected earlier. But he also predicted that the Supreme Soviet may give the president legal power soon to issue orders on emergency measures to shift into the market economy.

Newspaper Carries New Article by Solzhenitsyn

LD1809175990 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—A new article by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was published today by the Soviet youth KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper, to which the author granted the right to the first publication.

The article which deals with making life in Russia better, presents, according to the author, his view on the present state of the country, as seen by him from afar, and measures it is possible and necessary to take, from his viewpoint.

In giving the go-ahead to the publication of his article in the Soviet Union, the writer expressed doubt whether it will be possible to find paper in the country for a cheep mass edition of the article that is four newspaper pages long.

The opportunity to publish the article offered itself with the assistance of the Russian Federation Government. Indeed, each issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is put out in a print run of 22 million copies, three kopeks each.

The article will be reprinted by another mass circulation newspaper, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, on Wednesday.

Commenting on the publication, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA political analyst Aleksandr Afanasiyev says: "Ths direct address by the writer has been awaited for a long time.

"Some people were looking forward to a political support of their personal position. Others were expecting a devastating manifesto. Still others—a call.

"Personally, I saw in this quiet and wise article not a political declaration but a well-thought out programme for life by a major Russian writer and thinker.

"There are few calls in this article, but there is rich food for thought, for our independent clarification of the country's fate. The fate—one would like to trust, together with Solzhenitsyn—that will weave its way not through violence but through national accord and reconciliation."

Democratic Nature of Moscow Rally Questioned

PM1809162790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Democratic Challenge?"]

[Text] Moscow—A demonstration and rally of—as announced—democratic forces were held in Moscow 16 September. Their organizers were the Moscow Voters' Association, the Interregional Deputies' Group, the "Democratic Russia" movement Organizing Committee, the "Memorial" society, and a number of other organizations.

Chanting the slogans "Union government, resign!" and "Down with Ryzhkov!", the demonstrators under a canopy of white, blue, and red banners and placards took the long route along the Sadovoye Koltso ringroad from the Gorkiy Central Park of Culture and Recreation to Manezh Square. Many speeches—the tone of which was set set by USSR People's Deputy G. Popov, the chairman of Moscow City Soviet, who spoke first—were sharply denunciatory and confrontational in spirit.

"A crisis has broken out in the country," said the mayor of Moscow.

"A chain reaction of disintegration of the long-doomed system has begun. Thanks to the inactivity of Ryzhkov's government we are going from... crisis to crisis. It does not even care about the army and militia—our defenders have never had it so bad. The Ryzhkov government must resign immediately. It should be replaced by a coalition government of a bloc of left-wing citizens. Neither the center nor the radicals will now save our country from catastrophe on their own. Our hope rests on a Gorbachev-Yeltsin alliance and the adoption of the Russian '500 Days' economic reform program."

"In confirming the candidacy of Prime Minister Ryzhkov at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies," M. Poltoranin, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] minister for the press and mass media, said in his speech, "Mikhail Sergeyvich Gorbachev cited his decency as the main argument. But can one really describe as decent someone who clings to his ministerial office for dear life?..."

Scathing attacks were made not only on the Union government. Mikhail Gorbachev, the country's president, was also subjected to sharp criticism and even insults.

Such were the speeches. There were certainly other viewpoints among those assembled at the rally. However, there was no opportunity to express them. And not just because the balcony of the seventh floor of the Moskva Hotel served as the rostrum. Those who wished to speak— such as the press, incidentaly—were simply not allowed access. I saw labor veteran M. Chumak, who had come to the rally from Leningrad, do his level best, as it were, to get to the rostrum. But he was unceremoniously ejected.

Maybe many people felt almost physically for the first time at this many-thousands-strong demonstration just how far the opposition of various forces and strata of the population has gone, and that such manipulation of opinion "in the name of the people" by the rally organizers is nothing more than pressure on the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is now examining versions of the concept of economic reform. The immediate future will show whom the people will ultimately follow. People will be satisfied with rallies alone.

Veterans Protest Abolition of GOSR Festivities

LD1809191290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The open letter by Popov and Sobchak, chairmen of the Moscow City Soviet and the Leningrad City Soviet, respectively, to the presidiums of Russia's town soviets of people's deputies calling on them to cancel festive marches and rallies on the day marking the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has provoked a legitimate protest among war, labor, and USSR Armed Forces veterans. The Great October Socialist Revolution was and remains the most outstanding event of the 20th century which has a universal historic importance for the Soviet Union's veterans, the whole Soviet people, and progressive mankind, an appeal of the All-Union Council of War, Labor, and USSR Armed Forces Veterans of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans reads. We appeal to all the working people of the Soviet Union, veterans and young people, workers and collective farm workers, and to our Soviet intelligentsia to resist the calls by solicitous masters and to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution nationwide as our main holiday, thereby showing the world our allegiance to the ideals of October and the socialist choice.

Oil, Gas Trade Union Rules Out Strikes

LD1609191990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] In the Columned Hall of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions House of the Unions in Moscow a congress of the union of oil and gas industry workers ended today. The union's platform, calling for the more active protection of professional, social, and economic rights and putting forward the justified demands of the working people, was ratified. To further its demands the union will use all means envisioned in the legislation, including the right to strike, excluding strikes for political reasons. Deputies spoke in favor of the extension of economic rights and the independence of enterprises, employment guarantees, sufficient conditions for free enterprise, and a strong, independent, and authoritative trade union.

TV Chief Cancels Program on Mafia in USSR

LD1509155790 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 15 Sep 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] One of the heads of Soviet television have instructed that the showing of the program 'Black Cat' [Chernaya Koshka], which was to be shown on 15 September, should be canceled. The program, which was extensively announced on radio and television, as well as in the press, contains information about mafia structures in the Soviet Union, including those linked with the echelons of political power. Among those taking part in the program are Oleg Kalugin, former general of the State Security Committee, former special affairs investigator Telman Gdlyan, and other experts.

The authors of the program, Abayev and Vuglovskiy, told INTERFAX beforehand that yet another name of a politician connected with mafia affairs was to be named in it. One of the participants in the program, Tatyana Koryagina, doctor of economic sciences, stated in an interview with INTERFAX that one had to expect a step like that precisely from Central Television.

Journalists Prompt Charity for Unemployed

PM1409084790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Report by A. Pishchayev and V. Andreyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Newscaster] The creation of a new public charitable organization in our country—the Unemployment Protection Foundation—was officially announced today.

[Reporter] We do not have any worthwhile statistics on unemployment as yet. But, at a rough estimate, it currently stands at 10-12 million. There are various reasons for this problem. This is the situation today. But what about tomorrow? It is not hard to predict what effect the transition to the market economy could have. It is also depressing that legal and economic guarantees against unemployment have not yet been adopted. That is the state's prerogative, anyway. The new Unemployment Protection Foundation organization is probably capable of giving immediate assistance to at least some redundant people. This meeting of its cofounders—there are more than 20 of them—which to all intents and purposes marked the birth of the foundation, confirmed this. One-shot aid to the unemployed, the creation of new jobs in connection with the reduction in cadre numbers and conversion, the retraining of cadres, and, above all, a detailed study of the situation on the labor market—all this is by no means a full list of the foundation's activities. The speeches by representatives from ministries, enterprises, and social organizations expressed the most varied views on ways to achieve these ends. But they all agreed that the foundation should embark on its activity as urgently as possible. The economic situation in the country—and the real prospect of mass unemployment—is confirmation of that. It is noteworthy that the foundation was initiated by the press—staffers from the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Editorial Office. "Vremya" is also one of the cofounders. The final part of the meeting was given over to electing the foundation's chairman. The post went to Anatoliy Yurkov, chief editor of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

Rumors of Churbanov's Release Denied

90UN2811A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 13 Sep 90 p 2

[Report by A. Sergeyev on deputy prosecutor's reply to reader's query]

[Text] Is it true that Yu. Churbanov, L. Brezhnev's son-in-law, sentenced not very long ago for taking bribes, is already at large, as they say?

[Signed] I. Kerimov, Tashkent.

Not so, states A. Antonov, Sverdlovsk Oblast deputy prosecutor, whose jurisdiction includes correctional labor institutions. Yu. Churbanov remains in the 13th Correctional Facility. He will spend another seven years here. From the judicial proceedings, Churbanov is to pay 90,000 rubles [R]. Insofar as he has spent a great deal of time in courts of various instance over the year-and-a-half of his confinement, he has paid only R40 to this point. In general, approximately R8 per month is withheld from his salary.

Let me say something about what the convicted Churbanov is engaged in. According to the oblast deputy prosecutor, until recently he was working on the assembly of water-main valves. Taking the considerable managerial experience of the former first deputy minister of internal affairs into account, however, it was decided to entrust him with job assignment. But the confinement facility leadership had to abandon this idea—Churbanov has no organizational talent, it turns out.

CPSU Secretariat Session Reported

PM1309154190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[PRAVDA-TASS report on "latest CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session"; date not given: "In Defense of People's Spiritual and Material Interests"]

[Text] Urgent defensive measures against the commercialization of culture and art, the intensification of the struggle against speculation, the draft USSR Law "On Social Formations"—these and other questions were examined at the latest CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session.

What is worrying our masters of culture, and what do they expect from the Communist Party and its Central Committee? There was a keen debate about this in the course of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat discussion of a memorandum which Central Committee member and USSR Minister of Culture N.N. Gubenko sent to President M.S. Gorbachev and the party Central Committee. The feeling behind it is reflected in its very

title: "Urgent defensive measures in the cultural field in connection with the transition to market relations."

It was noted at the session that thanks to the initiative of Communist figures active in culture and art and creative union leaders and their persistence in their dialogue with the government, some of the urgent problems are today being resolved, albeit with difficulty. An increase in wages for people working in this sphere is planned, the phased transition of cultural institutions to new conditions of economic management has begun, and foundations for the development of culture and art are being formed. But on the whole the situation remains critical and, in a number of sectors, simply catastrophic.

As a newly-fledged bureaucrat, N.N. Gubenko said with bitter irony, I have had to send out documents and address bodies at all levels. But with what result? V.S. Ugarov, T.N. Khrennikov, and other participants in the session said with pain that the residual principle of allocating resources for the development of culture still persists, and it is being caused tremendous harm by commercialization. In connection with the delineation of functions between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the members of the federation the resolution of these questions is shifting increasingly to the republics, to the localities. But in the process leading theaters, symphony orchestras, art galleries—the pride of our culture, a nationwide asset—are being put in jeopardy. A process of talented performers drifting abroad is taking place. Is it possible to "share out" the Tretyakov Gallery? A spiritual entity cannot be hacked apart into separate pieces.

Culture is an irreplaceable unifying force. It can and must make its contribution to strengthening the spiritual ties between the country's peoples. The cultural threads that link us with the entire world must not be allowed to be broken because state organs neglect this sphere and local authorities take ill-considered steps by erecting insuperable barriers to international contacts in the pursuit of foreign exchange.

Can the CPSU stand aside from these problems? Of course not, it was stressed at the Secretariat session. But you sometimes get the impression that the party is sitting silently watching manifestations of a barbaric attitude to the destruction of historical and cultural assets, monuments, and so forth.

Summarizing the results of the discussion, A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that questions relating to the development of culture and education must be a super-priority in party committees' work. It is necessary to sound the alarm so that the concern for the fate of our culture is heard by Communists, the Supreme Soviet, the government, and the entire people alike.

The Central Committee Secretariat considers it advisable to adopt a number of priority measures in this field, he continued. Exercising the right of legislative initiative, the CPSU Central Committee intends to submit a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet that draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Culture be examined and adopted. It is planned to hold meetings with the creative intelligentsia in the CPSU Central Committee; to appeal to local soviets to try to find additional sources of finance to expand the network of movie theaters and clubs and develop museums; to organize communist subbotniks, with the funds earned being transferred to the Soviet Culture Foundation; and so forth. It is proposed that individual buildings currently on the CPSU's books be transferred to cultural agencies. Party committees at every level are recommended to elaborate specific action programs to overcome the prevailing attitude toward culture.

Another burning question which is agitating the whole of society was also examined at the Secretariat session—Communists' tasks in stepping up the struggle against speculation. It has assumed threatening dimensions and is sharply increasing people's dissatisfaction and social tension in the country. Under conditions of shortages of food and many prime necessities, instances of criminal groups getting ever richer at the people's expense are particularly intolerable. Thus, according to USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] figures, speculation in automobiles totals 6.3 billion rubles [R] in the current year, while in vehicle servicing speculation in spare parts totals R2.4 billion. Speculators' incomes from the resale of nonfood products alone exceed R1.3 billion. Medicines pass from hand to hand at prices 30-40 times higher than state prices!

The session participants sharply criticized Communist leaders of law-enforcement agencies. It was noted that the militia and other services often confine themselves to combatting the "small fry," so to speak, while those for whom the individual traders are mere front men stay in the shadows. Meanwhile a transition from small-scale speculation to large-scale—including interrepublic—organized forms of criminal activity is becoming typical today. Those guilty of deliberately creating shortages, hoarding goods, and so forth remain unpunished. People are quite rightly outraged when, for example, imported women's shoes are sold on markets at three times the proper price while law-enforcement agents take no notice and then plead that it is allegedly difficult today to distinguish a speculator from somebody selling goods he has made himself.

It was deemed necessary to urge all Communists to struggle actively for order to be imposed in this sphere so that the country's population can finally feel a real change for the better.

Taking account of the acuteness of the situation that has developed and the sociopolitical significance of the problem, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat decided to propose that the question of urgent measures to intensify the struggle against speculation be submitted for emergency examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet session. With a view to eradicating the economic soil for speculation the party calls on soviets of people's

deputies at every level to devote special attention to the accelerated development of consumer goods production, the meeting of market demand for them and the reduction of shortages, the imposition of stringent order in the provision of trade services for the population, the closing off of existing channels for speculation, theft, and abuses, and the prevention of new ones. Voluntary people's militias, comrades' courts, worker detachments, and so forth must be enlisted in the struggle against this evil on a broader scale, and active use must be made of the potential of consumer societies and neighborhood self-management committees. The mass media must give broad publicity to instances of mismanagement and waste, robbing of compatriots, profiting from the people's problems, and instances of selfish personal and parochial interests being counterposed to nationwide interests.

Even quite recently a multiparty system was an "undesirable" topic, but today it is becoming a political reality in our county. In the last three years alone almost 11,000 new autonomous associations and organizations have emerged. The need for legal regulation of their activity and the prevention of political extremism and anarchy, which often accompany an uncontrolled process of the establishment of a multiparty system, is coming to a head. The creation of a legal foundation—which is the very purpose of the Law on Social Formations—will help to avoid destructive phenomena in this sphere and serve the political stabilization of society.

CPSU Central Committee Secretary V.A Kuptsov, who presented a report on this question, and participants in the discussion noted the topicality of the adoption of such a law. The draft was elaborated by the USSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee and the country's Council of Ministers, and in May this year it was approved on first reading at a session of the Union parliament and published for nationwide discussion. The law, the speakers said, will be yet another step toward building a rule-of-law state and opens up broad opportunities for really autonomous, independent activity by social formations. At the same time the draft law stipulates the prohibition of the creation of parties and organizations whose programs are aimed at the violent overthrow or alteration of the constitutional system, the propagandization of war, violence, and cruelty, the fueling of ethnic and religious strife, or the commission of other actions punishable by law.

Special attention should also be drawn to one more factor. The draft law grants equal opportunities for all social organizations, not singling out any privileged formations with special status. It also contains guarantees of state noninterference in the activities of independent formations and parties. These organizations' right to own property must also be enshrined in legislation, and the impermissibility of their being financed from abroad must be stipulated.

Everybody expects, it was noted at the session, that the draft law must precisely conform with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the norms of international law. These positions must also form the basis of the approach to be taken to calls for the so-called "departyization" of the Army and law-enforcement and other institutions. The main criterion must be not infringing Soviet citizens' liberties.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat called on Communist deputies to actively promote the finalization and adoption of this highly important legislative enactment, which is bound to exert a beneficial influence on the political situation in society.

Questions linked with party renewal and the improvement of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus' activity were also discussed. It was deemed expedient to create standing commissions for the main areas of CPSU Central Committee activity—ideology, work in the sociopolitical sphere, socioeconomic questions, agrarian policy, questions relating to women and the family, CPSU nationalities policy, problems of the party's international activity, and the updating of primary party organizations' activity—and also CPSU Central Committee commissions for culture, education and science, youth policy questions, and CPSU military policy.

Soviet Peace Committee Holds Plenum

PM1809090990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Committee's Fate Will Be Decided in December"]

[Text] Moscow—An expanded plenum of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace has been held in Moscow. The main question on the agenda was what this mass public organization should be like in future.

During the stormy debates there was a discussion of the new program and it was proposed to rename the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace the Soviet Federation of Peace and Concord. The question of the role of the peace movement in the country's internal political life and of its organizations' participation in the processes of society's democratization and in the raising of sociopolitical culture was also raised in a new way.

Those taking part in the plenum have expressed themselves in favor of overcoming the stereotyped ideas which have formed over many years of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace as some "ministry for peace affairs." It is interesting that the new charter stresses that in the future all the federation's activity will be implemented using not only the funds from the Soviet Peace Fund but also voluntary donations from citizens and organizations and money from independent financial and economic activity.

Among other strategic and current issues an important place at the plenum was taken by the determination of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace's position

and the elaboration of its plan of action on "hot" salients like interethnic relations in the country, for instance.

The plenum adopted a resolution providing for the continuation of cooperation with the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement and the stepping up of support for the just demands of public movements and the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic for the closure of the nuclear testing ground in Semipalatinsk and its transformation into a scientific research center. USSR people's deputies from the peace movement have been instructed to submit to the forthcoming parliament session the question of the closure of nuclear testing grounds and the introduction of a new moratorium on nuclear tests...

The all-union conference of the Soviet peace movement, which will determine the fate of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, is scheduled for December.

Reforming Communist Leaders Interviewed

PM1409092790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 90 p 2

[Feature comprising interview with Vladimir Bezuglov, member of Democratic Platform "section" faction, by A. Tsatsuyev and interview with Boris Guseletov, coordinator of the young Communists group, by A. Pankratov: "'We Shall Remain in the CPSU...' Why?"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] At the very first conference of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU there arose two trends within the "DP." Some people advocated leaving the CPSU and creating a new party, others continuing work to reform the CPSU without leaving it. In mid-July the polarization culminated at the second all-union conference. The majority of "DP" supporters categorically expressed themselves in favor of withdrawal. But the others, remaining in the party, formed the "Section of Reforming Communists of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU."

Our correspondent talks with Vladimir Bezuglov, one of the members of the "section" organizational bureau, a senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry.

[Tsatsuyev] Vladimir Velenovich, why did you and those who think like you remain in the CPSU?

[Bezuglov] There were perhaps several reasons. First, we believed and believe, particularly since the congress, when quite serious democratic principles were successfully enshrined in the CPSU Program and Statutes, that reforms in the party are possible. They can be implemented by creating a renewed party "from within." Second, since the forum of Russian Communists and the 28th congress, where many delegates expressed themselves in favor of turning everything back, we have been confirmed in our decision. It is simply dangerous to leave in these people's hands the great organizational, material, and human potential that the CPSU possesses. Dangerous both to the party and to society.

[Tsatsuyev] The reforming Communists do not include a single person who has held a high post in the party or has been a CPSU member and even among the "Section" activists there is not a single full-time party worker. And what can rank and file Communists do?

[Bezuglov] In the past few months the situation within and around the party has greatly changed. The "Democratic Platform's" struggle against the conservatives in the CPSU "rocked" the Communists. However strange it may seem, there was also an eruption of activity after the first stage of the constituent congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party. Now, in the period of mass withdrawal from the CPSU, Communists are coming under "fire" from party and nonparty people and they are being asked: Why do you not leave the party? Why are you staying? All this forces each person to think and consciously define his position. And if people have their own position—they are no longer a voiceless mass with no rights whom it is easy to control.

It is no longer possible to lead by the old directive methods. For instance, in Moscow 111 primary party organizations have not recognized the RSFSR Communist Party. And what happened? They were not disbanded, no reprisals were taken against them—as would easily have been done before. They found a compromise option. A special account was opened in the Leninskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Committee]. He who does not want to finance "who knows what party" can put money in this account.

Our movement has been created to carry out a radical reform in the CPSU and to create a progressive left-wing party in modern society.

How do we want to achieve our goals? First of all we must create a democratic wing of reformers in the party. Unite with Democratic Communists in the party's horizontal structures (conference of primary party organization secretaries and so forth) and with the progressive section of the "Marxist platform" which, incidentally, we are already doing. And at the same time we must find points of contact with democratic movements outside the party geared to a socialist path of development. And the party clubs, for instance, could become clubs of interparty communication.

[Tsatsuyev] An important question about CPSU property. There are many options as to how to hand it over to the people. After all some competent specialists assert that only a small part of what it has belongs to the party. The rest was created using the people's money. To judge by its program statement the RSFSR Communist Party has a different viewpoint. It "assesses as unfounded and illegal the demands to nationalize party property." But what is your position?

[Bezuglov] There is no doubt that a review of all property is needed. Party and departmental property. The departments' property is no less than that of the CPSU and perhaps most of it has been taken from the people. That is why after an inventory has been made each person must submit legal proof of possession of particular property. If there are documents, then apologies are due... But if it is proven that this property was obtained illegally, it must be confiscated through the court. But we must not allow expropriation, for how then would that differ from 1917?

And how should the CPSU deal with its property? I believe part of party property should be passed on to the people today. This does not have to be done through the soviets. Part of the premises of, for instance, the higher party schools or raykom buildings could be handed over for high schools.

[Tsatsuyev] What is your attitude toward the creation of "Communist Party banks" recently reported by one newspaper?

[Bezuglov] If this is not an attempt to conceal property and funds illegally confiscated from the people and to legalize them, then I see nothing bad in it. Why, for instance, should the 1.5 billion in party dues lie around as dead capital? Why not put them into circulation? The question is where the dividends will go. If it is again to feed the nomenklatura or to make a bold badge for each CPSU member then that is a harmful and even criminal matter. But if there lies behind this not only the desire to support the party materially but also to become the institutor of charitable foundations and grants and to help pensioners, invalids, and students, then it is a good idea. I believe part of the party funds should also be channeled into helping refugees and eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. Incidentally, we have included these and other proposals in our program. It will be examined at the reforming communists' fall conference.

...The main "painful" question now is the reform of the economy: market or edict system? A compromise between the supporters of the two models for development is hardly possible. Moreover, the adoption of a compromise program will essentially mean burying the CPSU. The supporters of any viewpoint who remain in the minority will have to form a faction and if they do not take that step then an independent party... [Bezuglov interview ends]

One of the coordinators of the group of young Communists who have been delegates to recent party congresses—Boris Guseletov, the youngest member of the CPSU Central Committee and a reader at the Sverdlovsk engineering teacher institute, expresses his view.

[Pankratov] The statement of the 22, which really rocked the whole country, was heard on the last day of the first stage of the constituent congress of the RSFSR Communist Party. Then there was the 28th congress which, to judge by your group's reaction, increased the optimism. And now the second Russian stage has just ended...

[Guseletov] And again we are more than alarmed. Because it was precisely at this stage that the conservative forces in conjunction with the party apparatus made an attempt to revise the most progressive decisions of the 28th congress. The actual process of preparation of the draft program of actions of the Russian communist party, which proceeded without its constructive discussion by all Communists, makes one think that they want, without the consent of rank and file members, to turn the largest republican CPSU organization into an opposition party openly setting itself against the political course of the country's leadership headed by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and against other democratic parties and movements, including the RSFSR Leninist Communist Youth League.

That is not only my opinion—it is the position of the coordinating group of the "Democratic Unity" platform in the CPSU. It has been joined by the group of young Communists, some representatives of the "Democratic Platform" who have remained in the party, and some primary organization secretaries...

Nonetheless, as the draft program stated, Russian Communists were automatically included in the new political force. But the real participation of rank and file communists in the activity of a party which does not have and has not been able to elaborate its own program and statutes is essentially now reduced to material support for one more party apparatus and to political responsibility for the decisions taken by a "higher staff..."

[Pankratov] So you suggest not paying dues to the RSFSR Communist Party but sending them directly to the CPSU budget?

[Guseletov] "Democratic Unity" does not reject that option. As, indeed, it does not reject the possibility of freezing membership dues until the second party congress, where we intend to propose our own option for a program of actions based on the progressive decisions of the 28th congress, the declaration on Russia's sovereignty, and the new economic policy. But first, of course, the program must be discussed in the primary organizations. The platform's headquarters is in the Moscow CPSU City Committee under the Moscow conference of primary party organization secretaries (the coordinator is V. Yegorov, telephone 287-38-01).

Ignatenko Discusses Letters to Gorbachev

LD1809134790 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev begins and ends his working days by reading letters addressed to him, presidential spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko told reporters here today.

He said Gorbachev has received more than 120,000 letters since he became president. Over the past two days alone, he has received 2,501 letters, which Ignatenko said exceeded the average figure of about 1,000 letters a day.

Most letters contain "concrete proposals concerning the country's future and perestroika, as well as complaints and personal requests," Ignatenko said.

"The authors of many letters ask Gorbachev to prepare decrees on issues that they believe require immediate solutions. Many recent letters to the president focus on economic problems. They include quite a few propsoals for overcoming the social and economic crisis in society.

"A considerable number of letters call for consolidating all political forces in society that advocate perestroika and the renovation of socialism, and ask Gorbachev to 'rebuff' circles that are trying to push the country off the road of progressive reforms."

Ignatenko said the president takes decisions on many letters, which are "very quickly" implemented.

Economic

Shatalin Details Economic Problems

LD1809223990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1750 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Interview with Academician S. S. Shatalin, member of the Presidential Council, by unidentified correspondent in the "Topical Interview" program; place and date of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Stabilizing the ruble: What does this mean? Is it really possible to resolve such an important and fundamental thing as stabilizing the ruble within the short timescale envisioned in the program?

[Shatalin] You have raised a very difficult question. It is not just our program, of course, it is the government program, too, proceeding from the existing realities: The market has collapsed, the budget deficit is dreadful, there is a lot of surplus money, hot money, in the hands of the population, the market in the means of production has collapsed, monetary circulation and the financial system are on the brink of complete disaster. Generally the country is not living within its means, it is in debt.

Therefore, to go over to the market—I repeat, this is not a program for a market economy but a program for the transition to a market economy—and it must of course start with the stabilization of the monetary, financial, and banking system. This is something we have provided for, but what does this mean in specific terms? First of all, if we take the budget, which is in great deficit now, this is one of the main problems. The failure to solve this is giving rise to very strong inflation.

[Correspondent] What figure do you consider to be realistic now for the deficit?

[Shatalin] I am discussing this now, it is written in our program. It is greater than has been stated by the government. The deficit is getting bigger. One cannot see by what means the government is not trying to hold this back. We are proposing, therefore, that first and foremost we should start with an audit of the items, of all the items in the budget—the Union, the republican, and the local budgets. There must be a toughening up in all areas. Everything unnecessary that can be given up now must be thrown out because if we don't do that the deficit is going to grow, inflation is going to grow, the ruble is going to lose its value, the economy is going to go to pieces more and more; everywhere it will be a case of goods being exchanged for goods, there will be barter deals, in other words the economy as a whole will simply collapse.

First and foremost, therefore, we have to think about this: What is the real expenditure that we can now retain—I repeat once again—for the period of this very tough stabilization of the economy? That is the first option.

The second option is the taxation system, a taxation system that solves the problem of income for the budget. You know that a two-channel system of municipal and republican taxes was proposed earlier. Now there is an option—it has not yet been fully agreed with the republics—that a federal-Union tax on enterprises be introduced, the rates of which are agreed with the republics. So there is again a kind of centrism, a measure all republics are prepared to agree to. Of course we have to achieve a situation where the issuing bank is outside the government, so that as far as possible note-issuing is reduced to zero, because if that does not happen then there will once again be an additional pumping out of money, excessive, empty, and backed by absolutely nothing and once again there will be inflation.

On several occasions I have already said that this is not simply inflation but hyperinflation. This, too, is important. Measures for raising interest rates and for distributing shares and bonds of enterprises in a sensible way are also going to be very important. This isn't everything but they are the main measures of budgetary, credit, and monetary control.

It is very important that simultaneously we carry out a substantial intervention in terms of goods in the consumer market, otherwise the ruble will not be stabilized.

What are the possibilities here? First of all, production is falling, but we think that its structure should be such that at least there will be no sharp fall in the volume of output of consumer goods and services. This is a most important factor, therefore, and it will evidently remain so. There are many additional factors, too, that we consider essential to implement now. First and foremost there is the question of reducing construction for production purposes. Understand that this is in the first place.

Then there is the question of uncompleted construction and construction in the USSR. The average timescale for

the construction of production facilities I think is eight years. Just think of it. For eight years we carry out building work which takes material resources, we bury money in these construction sites, and this doesn't produce any return: Wages are paid and the money is thrown onto the market. I am not opposed to construction for production purposes, the country has no future without it, but the way we build now takes too long and the work is bad so that in virtually any new construction project we are creating additional inflation.

It surprises me, therefore, when many people say there is the program of the working group, the Shatalin program, if you like. You virtually want to kill the economy having sharply cut down the volume of capital investment for production purposes. I will set about proving, as an economist and mathematician, that in reducing capital investment for production purposes we can raise its effectiveness sharply, ensuring a higher rate of economic growth and a higher standard of living for the population than would be the case with the volume of capital investment for production sought, so to speak, by our planning and economic bodies. We must not think that this means we are eating through our funds, especially since we are talking about a year—we must understand—we are talking about a year.

Now, what have we done? Having failed to complete one set of construction projects we start new ones, we dissipate resources. How many resolutions have there been during these five years that construction projects should not be started? But they are growing and growing. The amount of uncompleted work is growing and growing. This leads to a deterioration, in the first place, of the situation on the market, because there are no goods that could be put in and there is a flow of monetary incomes that is not backed up with goods, and so on. I think this is a very important factor.

[Correspondent] Stanislav Sergeyevich, you are counting on inflow of foreign capital, undoubtedly?

[Shatalin] Yes, [words indistinct]. Well, you ask this question. Yes, we would like...

[Correspondent interrupts] In what volume?

[Shatalin] Well, you know, what the economy needs, it would be good to have...[changes thought] I (?expect) to receive 15 if only for 1991, though it isn't clear yet by what means we can get this money, given our current semibankruptcy in foreign currency. Approximately that much would be needed in order to—it's approximately 15—150 (?thousand million) of trade turnover and we would be able to save the market. But once again all western banks, commercial and noncommercial, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, all of them naturally ask to whom the money should be given over? Who is capable of making effective use of this help? If this money is given to people who do not know how to stabilize the economy, how to run a monetary system, how to run a taxation system, how to run a federal banking system; if the people do not know how to make a credit system, how can this money be given to them? You might as well throw it to the winds. You would think that way yourself. Is it worth or is it not worth asking now for additional loans because they'll go somewhere and you won't see them. Although certainly, without widescale, not so much aid but, rather, cooperation from the west—but nevertheless, all manner of aid—we alone are not going to be able to pull round the economy. And this aid need not be only in the form of direct crdits and so on, and not only in the form of joint enterprises and foreign capital investment upon our territory—the Japanese are in favor of this—and this is now being permitted by the government, we have no differences here—I think it will be a good thing if western capital comes in here. But certain concessions are needed, tax concessions, concessions with regard to supplies. There must be guarantees of certain kinds for these deals. So we are hoping.

If we are talking about foreign cooperation we very badly need simple professional assistance. Everyone talks about privatization. And you know what, one of the most ticklish questions relating to the economy during the period of transition is that of putting property back into the hands of people as many people are proposing that we should do. We are masters at taking and at taking away. We have already been doing this outstandingly well for 70 years; We have taken things away and that's all there has been to it. But giving things back—and the way things should be given back—that's difficult. In our program, therefore, and no doubt you've noticed this, [words indistinct]. And we are privatizing only those things that can be privatized rapidly in real terms.

As for the rest, in taking things out of the state sector in various forms—share-holding and so on—we are trying for the present without changing ownership, simply by introducing other conditions of economic management at enterprises of the state sector, making them, in the main, enterprises based on share holdings. And we simply need help in order to do this work, too.

Here is a specific example. Everyone talks about the different starting points. [Words indistinct] to whom should it be given? To the workers of the factory in question? That's absurd. What would the workers of the Bolshoy Theater do? What will the workers of the Badayev factory do, who make bad beer? And what will be done by the workshop that has seven people? Some will have one holding, others something else. How should it be divided up?

So, I work in this factory. Let us suppose that I am a normal academician. I did not steal the money. It would seem that I should receive more than a junior colleague. However, academicians who are economists could be duller than a junior colleague. From my work with young people I know that this is a possible variant. However, if they are not duller, if you turn your institute into private property, how much will I be given? As much as a junior

colleague? But why? If I am clever my contribution is greater. Should I get a bigger piece? Then such a free for all will begin.

Or further, all right. We can privatize in the following way. We will issue shares to anyone who can buy them, you or the comrades standing around here. This is a better manner, isn't it? To allocate money because it would seem we would arrive at a better way of getting rid of the master-serf variant of serfdom, an easier one. And there are very few share-holders. Let the enterprises be share- holders—and we ourselves and foreign capital—but this will still not be enough. But this is a better way. This is a trap, too.

There is another variant, too. Let us give money not to the workers collectives but distribute money to the workers, to people. But why? Why should we distribute all the money simply in equal shares. (?our usual attitude) is to share it out and have done and they will do the work in America or Japan or South Korea. And we will have these rubles. But what will we do with them? Without any goods intervention, just to strengthen the ruble only by monetary, tax, and financial measures will not succeed. What is needed is powerful additional impulses connected with goods and services.

The whole session is now returning once again to the theme of privatization. We hope to build such an economy, of course, not in 500 days or in 502 days as I today gloomily or stupidly joked. We hope to create additional motivational stimuli. And if we do not believe in these stimuli, then what do we believe in? I will say once again. If the economy does not receive a motivational mechanism, at least coming close to competing with the West, we can tie ourselves all together with a good rope, if there is still enough rope in the country—long enough ropes to tie up the whole population. We can go quietly into the grave, jump in all together, embrace each other, and so on. There are simply no other possibilities.

[Correspondent] The Supreme Soviet is now discussing a third program.

[Shatalin] We write that we have tried everything to reach agreement. We did reach agreement. We made concessions. The republics might cut off my head for this. We brought in the federal, the Union tax, as I stated at the Supreme Soviet today. And we even removed the words about the supremacy of the republican laws. That was as far as the agreement went. So this is what happened. By a qualified majority of two thirds of the votes three academicians proposed adopting the Gorbachev program, the presidential program, which I call the Gorbachev-Yeltsin program. I think that these two small moves—Boris Nikolayevich will forgive me for agreeing... [changes thought] and the other presidents, I mean the chairmen of the republican supreme soviets—that we agreed to the formula of a federal tax and removed the words about the supremacy of the law. Well, we adopted perhaps another two or three phrases from the government. All the rest is simply what was written in our document. The main thing is—and I really do not agree with the fact that—in the government's too there is much—when it concerns normal economic measures—there is much in common. [sentence as heard] But it could not be otherwise, for we are people living in the same country, on the same territory, more or less.

[Correspondent] The main thing is that everyone wants things to get better?

[Shatalin] I do not know, I will not undertake to reply to this question, because I do not believe this.

[Correspondent] And what proportion of state property do you think will be privatized?

[Shatalin] I never make stupid forecasts which make me look like a quack. I can say only one thing: In general, in principle, the only things that should remain as state property—as we have written in this program—is everything connected with functions of strategic importance. Transportation is strategic, energy, space, defense, security, and so on. And some more fundamental issues—science, regional development funds, speaking by the way about questions of starting conditions, subsidies, subfunds that we are proposing.

I would like to conclude with an outstanding saying. Today I found an old jotting of mine: The state exists not to turn life into paradise, but to stop it from turning into hell. Vladimir Solovyev, the great historian. Thank you for your attention.

Silayev Interviewed on 500 Days Program

904A0591A Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, by V. Golovachev, TRUD political observer: "Toward the Market—For Man and Not Against Him"]

[Text] **TRUD has already published materials on the main theses of the two programs for changing over to market relations. But the readers' interest in these problems is not waning. And this is understandable since we are speaking about problems pertaining directly to the standard of living of the population and their essential needs. In order to objectively show various approaches to solving the most complex problems, today we are offering I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the opportunity to discuss the 500 days program more specifically. He recently reported on it at a session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.**

[Golovachev] Ivan Stepanovich, first of all I would like to ask a question related to the forthcoming work of the two parliaments—Russian and Union. Both of them will be discussing the concept and the program for changing over to market relations. The parliaments might come to different decisions. Will this not give rise to new conflicts?

[Silayev] The situation is indeed fairly complicated and, I would say, even strange. It might turn out that the Union parliament will hand its decisions down to the republics without regard for their will. It seems to me that it would be more expedient to wait until Russia and the other republics adopt their programs and agree among themselves on coordinated programs, and only then raise those issues which by general agreement will be within the competence of the Union and consider them in the USSR Supreme Soviet. That is, in my opinion, there would be some point in postponing the discussion of the question of the changeover to the market in the Union parliament.

[Golovachev] The group led by Academician S.S. Shatalin has prepared a fairly lengthy (555 pages) document—"The Concept and Program for Transition to the Market." Here, as we know from the press, they consider ways of getting ourselves out of our deepest economic crisis. In a newspaper interview it is impossible to touch on all aspects, but could you, if only briefly, discuss the predicted change in the standard of living and prices?

[Silayev] I will begin with prices because this is the issue that is bothering the population most of all today. I should state quite definitely: In keeping with the program developed by S.S. Shatalin's group, the state will refrain from administratively raising retail prices for consumer goods. Moreover, for purposes of social protection of the population, it is proposed to freeze prices for 100-150 kinds of goods and services until the end of 1991—namely those which form the basis of the subsistence level for families. At the same time republic and local organs will place orders for additional production of these goods. The consumer market will gradually be saturated with them.

And now imagine: When the market is saturated the commodity will no longer be in short supply. What does this mean? That if the strict control is removed the price for it will not increase. On the contrary, it might even decrease if certain items do not move. So by the end of next year, taking into account the concrete circumstances and the situation in the market, it is proposed to remove state control over retail prices for various groups of goods in sequence. By that time 70-80 percent of the prices should be free.

But still for a small group of necessities control will be retained until 1992. This pertains, for example, to prices for certain kinds of bread, meat, milk, vegetable oil, sugar, the basic kinds of medications, school textbooks, and also transportation rates and rates for various kinds of commercial services.

[Golovachev] But what if the prices which have been "let go" for a certain amount of time suddenly start to rise sharply?

[Silayev] Then republic and local organs can temporarily freeze them, having established the maximum level. But in general, in order to avoid increased rates of inflation, it is necessary to conduct a strict financial and credit policy. That is, we must significantly reduce the budget deficit, create a banking system that is capable of controlling the mass of money, establish strict financial restrictions for all commodity producers, and so forth. Only under these conditions will it be possible to gradually remove price controls. Sequential release of them will make it possible to balance the consumer market and eliminate the deficit. The broader the range of goods sold at free prices, the fuller the store shelves, and the more quickly the prices will stabilize and begin to go down.

[Golovachev] Up to this point we have been speaking about necessities. Is it assumed that there will be the same kind of strict control of the prices of other goods?

[Silayev] No, even in the first stage control will be removed from luxury items and a large group of food and nonfood commodities that are not necessities. That is, gold, jewels, delicatessen items, complicated household equipment, high-quality furniture, imported items, and so forth. Otherwise it would be impossible to change over to the market. But this is still a less painful path for the population than a sharp increase in prices for bread, milk, butter...

It is very important to determine the status of the ruble as the only legal means of payment on the territory of the USSR. The issuance of other bills and surrogates and the circulation of foreign currency must be prohibited in order to stabilize the buying power of the ruble.

[Golovachev] How does the program predict the change in the standard of living while changing over to the market? It is traditionally thought that there should be a decline in the standard

[Silayev] Yes, such ideas are widespread. But we subscribe to a different concept: During the transition period conditions are created for stabilization and then there begins a rise in the standard of living. For the market must be created for man and not against him.

The point of departure for the calculations is the development of a minimum consumer budget. The minimum income level should be determined on the basis of it. If we take the present methods, the minimum material support per capita in the country as a whole in 1988 was assessed in the amount of 105 rubles [R] per month. About half goes for food, almost 20 percent for nonfood commodities, and 14 percent for services. This structure of the minimum budget orients us primarily toward satisfaction only of physiological needs. It does not create conditions for the development of the personality. I will cite a fact that is painful and one might say insulting to the Soviet people: Only R3 a month were allotted for satisfaction of spiritual needs in the minimum budget...

Under the new conditions such calculations will be based not on poverty-line needs but on quite a different principle: Every member of the society must have the opportunity to live in a worthy manner, even with the minimum income level. The minimum consumer budget should guarantee not only satisfaction of the basic needs for food and clothing, but also the possibility of having housing, supporting the disabled, and so forth. On the basis of the minimum budget one should also determine the minimum cost of the work force. For the time being, of course, we do not have the necessary conditions to completely realize this principle. But by the end of the transition period they should be provided...

[Golovachev] The standard of living is closely linked to the incomes of the population. What is the point of the wage reform proposed in the program?

[Silayev] First of all I can say that the present wage level of the Soviet people cannot be called satisfactory. Let us compare, for example, how much work time the average automotive industry worker has to spend in our country and abroad in order to acquire the basic necessities in a store. In order to buy a kilogram of bread (28 kopecks) the Soviet worker must work 12.6 minutes and the American worker—only 5.8; in order to acquire a liter of milk—12.5 and 5.3 minutes, respectively; a kilogram of sugar—45.3 and 3.5 minutes, respectively. Or take men's shoes (R35). Here they have to work 26 hours and 43 minutes and in the United States—2 hours and 15 minutes. To purchase a color television set: in the USSR 534 hours and 12 minutes and in the United States—only 31 hours... And this is the case for almost all goods (except in our country we have to work approximately half as long to pay the rent). All this cannot be regarded as normal.

This is why in principle the new wage system must be constructed in such a way that it can always be used to remove from the agenda the question of the exploitation of the labor of millions of workers. Here I would like especially to note this: Today the defenders of dogmatic socialism are frightening the people by saying—when we change over to the market you will find out what exploitation is. I must say quite emphatically that world experience has already proved in practice that the higher the degree of development of market relations the lower the level of exploitation of labor. The inclusion of the free worker in the system of trade union movements which have skillfully defended his interests and the exercise of the citizens' right to property and the proceeds from it preclude confiscation of that which is produced by labor without reimbursement.

Based on what has been said, the essence of the wage reform can be seen in the following. We will take as a basis the minimum consumer budget. The wage rate system will be radically restructured. It should determine only the minimum wage rates and salaries. Of course, they change depending on the qualifications. And this way the differentiation among the branches is eliminated. This provides a firm guarantee of the workers' minimum wage regardless of where they may be working—at a state enterprise or in the private or cooperative sectors...

Since the wage rate system is based on the minimum consumer budget, which with inflation is constantly increasing, wages will also grow.

[Golovachev] One of the crucial issues has to do with the amount of compensation for possible unemployment. Will the program go beyond the official proposals that have been discussed?...

[Silayev] Yes, this is recommended as one of the variants: The stipend for unemployment will be paid in the amount of 70 percent of the average monthly wage for the first three months after the lay-off; 60 percent—for the next three months; and then 50 percent for a year. Remember that the proposals envisioned by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems envision the payment of the stipend only for half a year, in the amount of half the average monthly wage, and only from the wage rate (salary). In the alternative plan the trade unions envision a longer period for payment of the stipend—a year—and it is based not on the wage rate but on average earnings. This is a step forward. At the same time the trade unions think that the stipend should be half of the average wage. As you can see, we are going even further: 70 percent under the conditions in Russia today amounts to about R200. In my view, this is not a small stipend.

Although it is improbable, one cannot completely rule out the possibility that the discharged person will not find work during the period when the stipend is being paid. Then the program envisions social relief. For example, the stipend in monetary and physical-substantial form, discounts on rent and commercial services, the use of public transportation, and so forth. The specific list and the amount of assistance should be established by the authorities in each territory independently, based on local peculiarities.

It is suggested that the employment services and the local soviets be granted the right to postpone the firing decision for up to six months or that they have the right to veto such a decision.

[Golovachev] How does the program define the role of the trade unions under the new conditions?

[Silayev] An important sphere of activity for trade union associations is dialog with the state authorities at various levels and participation in state regulation of social relations as a whole and labor relations in particular. As in all civilized countries, it is suggested that trade union representatives be included on an equal basis in various organs—both consultative and with the right to make decisions—that form and implement the social policy of the country and the regions. The trade unions should play a significant role in the development of social and labor legislation and subsequently exercise their own "nondepartmental" control over its observance. And, of

course, one cannot but mention the traditional negotiations with the employers and the collective agreements that are concluded in keeping with these negotiations.

[Golovachev] Opponents of the program speak about its unfeasibility. How is it possible in such a short period of time to impose order and set up the functioning of a disorganized economy in such a large country?

[Silayev] The opponents are forgetting about some very important things: The program envisions including the personal interest of the individual. This is a powerful factor. We are speaking not only about withdrawal of the state and privatization but also about an entire complex of other measures. If we were to fully take advantage of the potential existing now we would be living incomparably better.

[Golovachev] There are many disputes about privatization. They say that you could buy an enterprise, but the people have no money...

[Silayev] Yes, some people have no extra money but there are also some people who still have some. And not necessarily the wheeler-dealers on the shadow economy. Just analyze the immense waiting lists to buy automobiles. They include the names of workers, employees, and specialists...

Now about privatization. In industry alone we have 20,000 enterprises employing up to 200 people. Are the workers really not capable of purchasing these little plants? I have given just one particular example. The program envisions free transfer of state property and auctioning of it... But here we must seriously clarify how unpromising mass creation of collective enterprises with indivisible property is. It would seem to be a very tempting path. But, as economic analysis as well as the experience of Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia have shown, this path leads nowhere; again there is the desire not to go beyond the rigid framework of compromised ideological doctrines.

[Golovachev] And the last question. What, in your opinion, are the main conditions for achieving success?

[Silayev] Social harmony and a vote of confidence in the authorities. B.N. Yeltsin's trip through Russia showed that this confidence exists and there is a basis for social harmony as well. So I am confident that we are on the right track.

Privatization of State Assets Viewed

904A0588A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with G.G. Melikyan, department chief of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA special correspondent O. Berezhnaya; place and date not given: "Collectively Owned Means Nobody's"]

[Text] V. Savakov, aide to the USSR Council of Ministers chairman, confronted G. Melikyan, department chief of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform: "Fine, I have 500 rubles [R] in my savings account. I come with them to this market of yours, and find it overflowing with plants, bakeries, barber shops, and mansions. What am I going to do there? Walk about putting on intelligent airs and haggle? After all, this is like coming to Tishinskiy Market with just a ruble." There was a reason for this confrontation. Together with a group of economists, Gennadiy Georgiyevich was preparing a chapter on the withdrawal of the state from ownership which became a part of the state program for the transition to a market economy. Our special correspondent O. Berezhnaya met with him.

[Berezhnaya] Gennadiy Georgiyevich, let us begin with the question Vladimir Lukyanovich asked. An overwhelming majority of Soviet people live from payday to payday. With what will they come to this unprecedented sale? Will the poor get poorer and the rich get richer as a result?

[Melikyan] The sale of state assets is going to proceed under the supervision of state organs and the public, and with extensive publicity.

The filing of an income declaration and a mandatory public announcement are envisaged in cases of extensive acquisitions. The volume of purchases by one person is going to be restricted by special legislative acts. However, "cutting off" the mafia is not the main difficulty.

At present, we have R3 trillion worth of productive and nonproductive assets. The people have about R500 billion in savings banks, in certificates, and "in the mattress."

According to our rough estimates, the populace could allocate about R100 billion for buying out state assets. Enterprises, cooperatives, commercial and joint-stock banks, and other organizations could spend an equal amount for these purposes, all of this under the best of circumstances. However, 200 billion is nothing compared to 3 trillion!

This is why three scenarios of privatization are being worked on at present. The first one calls for distributing a segment of state assets (approximately one-third) among all citizens free of charge. The concept is based on the fact that at present all of us are co-owners of this wealth. A mechanism needs to be found to ensure that all of us become owners of some share of what has been accumulated in our country rather than poor proletarians. The second mode derives from the collectives of enterprises, primarily manufacturing enterprises: Factories to the workers! This is to say that the assets of state enterprises need to be given primarily to those who work at the enterprises. The adherents of the third mode believe that we should give away as little as possible, but strive to sell as much as possible, sell at a reduced rate, under an installment plan, while providing preferential credit, but sell nonetheless.

All of these three modes have their advantages and disadvantages. What is good about the first two modes? First of all, the fact that they alleviate social tension to a degree and show to all citizens that the state and the leadership are not out to grab everything. To the contrary, they give back what has been created by the citizens and accumulated in our country. The second advantage is that the process of privatization will be accelerated sharply because if selling is all we do the buy-out will drag out for many years. However, there also are disadvantages.

For example, we decide to split a segment of state assets equally among all. However, is it fair for a newborn and a veteran miner to be given equal shares? The second mode: We transfer assets to the ownership of enterprise employees. What are we going to give to a teacher—a school? What about a physician or a retiree? Or, for example, one person works at a modern enterprise, and another at a decrepit enterprise. This is not due to the merit of one and the fault of the other. Therefore, it is very difficult, next to impossible, to find criteria that would ensure complete justice.

The third mode creates genuine owners who have invested their funds in enterprises and is instrumental in withdrawing surplus funds from circulation.

[Berezhnaya] Yet another issue arises, that of the arrangements for distribution, for the buy-out. Given our megalomaniac leanings, there are, perhaps, not so many enterprises which the workers are in a position to buy out. In what manner can an enterprise be split?

[Melikyan] In industry alone we have 20,000 enterprises with fewer than 200 employees, that is, enterprises in which workers could manage themselves. I am not taking into account trade, public catering, and construction, where we also have very small collectives. In other cases the following scenario may be used: The share of every individual is determined on the basis of the value of assets to be distributed and the overall number of the population. Registered vouchers are issued for the amounts of these shares, or special bank accounts are opened. The funds in these accounts may only be used to purchase state-owned shares of joint-stock companies which are being set up or other assets earmarked for privatization.

It is planned to create special holding companies, organizations that would act as holders of securities of many enterprises, with a view to minimizing the risk taken by citizens who purchase shares. In this case, the citizens may be given the shares of these holding companies rather than the shares of individual plants and factories, which may go bankrupt.

[Berezhnaya] You are forgetting one more scenario—collective property...

[Melikyan] To my mind, referring to collective enterprises in the absence of private property amounts to economic illiteracy.

We have to realize that under a market system only units that are responsible for the decisions they make not only in terms of their current income but also in terms of their assets may operate efficiently. Otherwise, the interest of both collectives and individual employees in current profits begins to prevail over the improvement of production, accumulation of production assets, thrifty management, and so on. Moreover, cases in which fixed capital is consumed are frequent, as the experience of many enterprises in, say, Hungary has shown. This is why it is necessary to personalize property. If we are unprepared to embark on this road we should stop raising the issue of a transition to a market economy, with which expanding the rights of enterprises is associated.

Why am I so concerned about us being able to enhance the rights of enterprises in the absence of private property? I believe this to be pernicious for our entire national economy. As I see it, the experience of the past five years has shown that enhancing the rights of enterprises in the absence of a transition to private ownership has to a considerable degree facilitated the current disintegration of the economy. Why? Previously, under the old system, the state put pressure on production and ensured control over the efficiency of resource use, even if poorly. The state was deprived of these functions as the enterprises were given greater rights. Meanwhile, the collectives themselves are not interested in efficient management if they do not include personified owners.

[Berezhnaya] My final question: Which scenario of privatizing state property is your group leaning toward: free-of-charge distribution to all citizens of our country, to members of production collectives, or does your group believe that assets need to be bought out after all?

[Melikyan] It appears expedient to proceed from the third approach and complement it with some elements of the first two approaches; in particular, granting various preferences for purchasing shares and other state assets, especially to members of a production collective. The distribution of assets to labor collectives free of charge with the subsequent formation of property of its individual members should be practiced in certain cases, primarily with regard to unprofitable, physically and morally obsolete enterprises.

As far as the first mode is concerned, taking into account the republics' independence, they could resolve on their own the issue of distributing a segment of republic or communal property (for example, the value of the housing stock) among the entire population of the republic.

A preoccupation with creating collective enterprises which are indivisible properties is what we should be apprehensive about. I am afraid that our society will opt for this very mode, unpromising as it is. This concept is somehow inexplicably attractive to the people. Therefore, I believe that the warnings of Hungarian, Polish, and Yugoslav economists to take account of their bitter

experience and not to repeat their mistakes are in vain. We also have to experience this disease.

New Procurement Prices for Tobacco Set

904D0222A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by A. Krasnopivtsev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Prices: "New Prices for Tobacco"]

[Text] In recent weeks an extremely difficult situation with regard to the availability of cigarettes and all-tobacco cigarettes to the populace has developed in many regions of our country. There are tremendous lines in front of stores and tobacco stands. This rouses the indignation of the smoking segment of the populace.

In an ukase dated 30 August 1990, USSR President M.S. Gorbachev demanded that the governments of the country and the Union republics take urgent measures with a view to normalizing the existing situation. The enactment by a decree of the Council of Ministers of new procurement prices for tobacco raw materials from the crop of this year rather than beginning in 1991, as was previously planned, is one of such measures.

The new procurement prices include not only the bonuses paid but also compensatory payments to agriculture for its additional outlays entailed by the setting of new prices for industrial products and tariffs for services, rates of social security contributions, and rates on bank loans which, as is known, are to be introduced in 1991.

The new procurement prices will sharply enhance the interest of collective farms, state farms, and lease collectives in increasing tobacco deliveries. The level of average payments per ton will increase by a factor of 1.5, and profitability will increase from 27 percent under the terms previously in effect to 42 percent. The profit of farms per ton will come to between 2,000 and 3,000 rubles.

Incentives for the production of high-quality tobacco raw materials will be increased. To this end it is envisaged to differentiate procurement prices to a greater extent by botanical and commodity groups. For example, the procurement price for Grade 1 tobacco of the strains "Trapezond," "Broadleaf," and "Cigar" is four to five times higher than the price for Grade 4. Bonuses and price reductions from the level of basic prices are established for a lower or higher moisture content compared to the standard content.

Payments for tobacco raw materials from the crop of this year at the new procurement and wholesale prices will facilitate restoring the production of tobacco goods and improving their availability to the populace.

New procurement prices are given below, which were confirmed by Council of Ministers Decree No. 792 dated 9 August 1990, and which should now be used in settlements for uncured tobacco raw materials from this year's crop.

State Procurement Prices for Uncured Tobacco Raw Materials (rubles per ton) Strain type: Dyubek Republic: Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] (southern coast of the Crimea) Commodity grades: I—31,000; II—21,000; III—10,500; IV—4,000

Strain type: Dyubek Republic: Kazakh SSR (Chilikskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast) Commodity grades: I—9,100; II—7,800; III—5,400; IV—2,000

Strain type: Dyubek Republic: Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR (without Chilikskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast), Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR Commodity grades: I—8,500; II—7,000; III—5,000; IV—2,000

Strain type: American Republic: Ukrainian SSR (Crimea Oblast) Zone 1 Commodity grades: I—21,000; II—17,000; III—9,500; IV—3,000

Strain type: American Republic: Ukrainian SSR (Crimea Oblast) Zone 2 Commodity grades: I—16,500; II—11,000; III—7,500; IV—2,000

Strain type: Samsun Republic: Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian SSR (without Sevanskiy, Martuninskiy, Krasnoselskiy, Vardenisskiy, and imeni Kamo Rayons) Commodity grades: I—10,500; II—9,000; III—6,500; IV—2,000

Strain type: Samsun Republic: Armenian SSR (Sevanskiy, Martuninskiy, Krasnoselskiy, Vardenisskiy, and imeni Kamo Rayons) Commodity grades: I—7,600; II—6,300; III—5,000; IV—1,900

Strain type: Trapezond Republic: RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] (Krasnodar Kray, Dagestan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Chechen-Ingush ASSR), Ukrainian SSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Moldavian SSR, Armenian SSR Commodity grades: I—8,000; II—7,000; III—4,600; IV—1,700

Strain type: Talgarskiy Republic: Uzbek SSR, Kazakh SSR, Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR Commodity grades: I—7,100; II—6,000; III—4,400; IV—1,500

Strain type: Acutifoliate (broadleaf) Republic: RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR, Moldavian SSR, Armenian SSR Commodity grades: I—7,100; II—6,000; III—4,400; IV—1,500

Strain type: Sobolchskiy Republic: Ukrainian SSR (Transcarpathian Oblast) Commodity grades: I—7,300; II—6,200; III—4,500; IV—1,600

Strain type: Virginia and Burley Republic: RSFSR, Georgian SSR, Azerbainjan SSR, Moldavian SSR Commodity grades: I—7,500; II—6,500; III—4,400; IV—1,600

Strain type: Cigar Republic: RSFSR (Bryansk Oblast) Commodity grades: I—7,800; II—6,800; III—5,500; IV—1,500

Increases Reported in Tobacco Production

LD1509134190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Text] Urgent measures to reduce the shortage of tobacco products are being taken by the special group of the USSR Council of Ministers, created on the instructions of the country's president.

All tobacco factories are in operation. Daily output has reached 1.22 billion cigarettes as against 880 million in August. In the coming days, the output of tobacco products wil be boosted to 1.3 billion every 24 hours. Measures are being taken to speed up the purchase of cigarettes abroad. In this way, the situation regarding sales in many regions has been stabilized.

The special group has also made a number of decisions to accelerate the processing of sugar beet.

Government To Boost Cigarette Production

PM1709100890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers operations group set up on the instructions of the USSR president is taking emergency steps to reduce the shortage of tobacco products.

All the country's tobacco factories have been put into service. Their daily output has reached 1.22 billion Soviet and Western-style cigarettes, as opposed to 880 million in August. Over the next few days production of Soviet and Western-style cigarettes will be raised to 1.3 billion tobacco products a day.

Steps are also being taken to speed up procurements of cigarettes abroad. By mid-September the USSR had been supplied with roughly 3 billion. What is more, contracts have been concluded for the additional procurement and delivery by late 1990 of another 32 billion cigarettes. Firms have begun to unload them. The situation with Soviet and Western-style cigarette sales has stabilized in many regions.

The operations group also adopted a number of decisions aimed at speeding up sugar beet processing. By mid-September more than 190 sugar refineries had been put to work. They have processed 2.8 million tonnes of beet. Sugar production has totaled 245,000 tonnes since the beginning of the season as against 157,000 tonnes last year. Trading enterprises have begun to dispatch it.

First Independent International Bank Announced

LD1609224890 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] The creation of the first independent international bank has just been announced. Called Baykalbank, it's joined the list of other commercial banks in the country which have hard currency accounts. Baykalbank is an international joint stock company. Among its foreign shareholders are the Canadian (?Lachlan) Associates Inc, the West German Heinemann Maschinen- und Anlagenbau, and the Austrian International Business Consulting Firm.

As securities they have been given the rights to natural resources in certain parts of the country. Baykalbank's primary job is to finance free economic zones. It also has a special interest in financing the economic development of the area along the Baykal-Amur railway in Siberia.

Agriculture

Defense Ministry Units Transport Crops

LD1809123890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] In the southern and central oblasts of Russia, motor vehicle battalions of the USSR Ministry of Defense have completed transporting grain and are now carrying beets and other products from the fields.

Many motor vehicle units are being redeployed to Siberia and Kazakhstan where the center of the harvest has moved.

Flawed Distribution Wastes Tomatoes, Melons

PM1409150390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by Ye. Orlov, K. Shutov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Reporter] These are the famous Astrakhan tomatoes. It is hard to tell how many of them are lying here. Up to 40,000 tonnes of top-grade tomatoes could be dispatched annually for sale in other cities from the fields of Akhtubinskiy Rayon, now thoroughly drenched by the fall rains. The actual figure is only one-fifth of this. This is because there is no one to pick the tomatoes, and no transport facilities to ship them out.

Tula labor collectives, concluding a contract with the Uspenskiy Sovkhoz [State Farm], decided to act on the "from the fields to the store" principle.

What are the results of almost three weeks of work?

[A.S. Chernov, deputy general director of an unspecified association] We have dispatched 350 tonnes of tomatoes and 510 tonnes of melons to Tula. Now, using our own transport facilities, we will ship out two truckloads of

tomatoes and two truckloads of melons. I think this will be enough for our collective.

[Reporter] Representatives from Kolomna in Moscow Oblast have arrived on the neighboring Put k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz [Collective Farm].

[G.I. Ivanov, Kolomna City Soviet deputy] We realized that our food trade administration is unable to provide the city with sufficient quantities of fruit and vegetables, and therefore a group of our soviet deputies decided to establish direct ties with Astrakhan Oblast to ensure deliveries of these goods.

[Reporter] As far as I know, representatives of only three cities have displayed this kind of initiative—Tula, Kolomna, and Mariupol. Is that not very little?

[Ye.P. Panasenko, kolkhoz chairman] It is very little. But we hope that it is the first indication of the beginning of mutually advantageous cooperation.

[Reporter] But where are the others? I can see people somewhere in the Urals or the center asking: Where are the fresh vegetables? Take a good look. Here they are. They have been grown. And no one seems to want them. [video shows melons and crates of tomatoes lying in puddles of water] Perhaps local soviet deputies who claim to be concerned about the welfare of their voters will find time to think about this when they walk into an empty vegetable store.

Goods Offered as Incentive for Grain Suppliers

PM1709141290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with V.I. Chernoivanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, by K. Lysenko under the "Harvest Time" rubric: "Grain Exchanged for Refrigerator"—place and date not given, first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] According to current data, only 48.7 million of the 170 million tonnes of grain harvested from the country's fields has been sold to the state. This is 56 percent of the state order. According to specialists' assessments, the rates of sale are extremely low. But after all, with this year's record harvest there is the opportunity not just to fulfill the state order but to exceed it considerably and sharply reduce grain imports. But the peasants are evidently not rushing to sell grain to the state. What incentive can they be given? We addressed this question to V.I. Chernoivanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases.

[Chernoivanov] Back in spring the USSR Government took measures to stimulate the sale of grain to the state, both toward the state order and in excess of it. Chief among them was increasing grain purchase prices. On average they increased by more than 50 percent.

[Lysenko] But money in itself is no incentive if there is nothing to buy with it....

[Chernoivanov] That is why, in exchange for resources obtained from the sale of above-plan grain, agriculture was allocated 25,000 cars, over 4,500 trucks, 5,000 heavy motorcycles, 100,000 each of refrigerators, televisions, and washing machines, and 30,000 sewing machines. In addition, as early as September the government also allocated other especially scarce machines and construction materials for the same purposes.

[Lysenko] What method of distributing these goods is planned? Who can expect to get them? And will much grain be needed in order to obtain, say, a refrigerator?

[Chernoivanov] Quotas have been fixed for all goods. They are different for different regions. Regarding a refrigerator specifically, in order to obtain one it is necessary to give the state between 15 and 25 tonnes of grain above the plan depending on the region. A television can be obtained by giving 20-30 tonnes of grain, a cubic meter of timber can be "exchanged" for 10-12 tonnes, a "Volga" for 400-700 tonnes, and a "Kamaz" for 200-700 tonnes.

[Lysenko] There were a considerable number of tempting promises before as well. However, there were times in past years when those who believed them just could not obtain the promised reward. And it became clear only later that the refrigerators, televisions, and tractors had "slipped away" via completely different channels. What guarantees will be given this year?

[Chernoivanov] The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and its subdivisions have been charged with keeping a very close eye on things to prevent such instances, which did indeed happen. Local soviet and agricultural organs would do well to bear in mind that the equipment and materials allocated to agriculture were previously earmarked for other branches of the economy. And if grain is not received for them in accordance with the quotas, then these resources will be directed to the previous consumers.

Scientific

Researchers Protest Academy of Science Decree

LD1309195590 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 13 Sep 90

[By TASS Correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—The presidential decree of August 23 triggered a wave of protests among the scientific public. Representatives of Moscow research institutions, who held a rally today outside the presidium of the Academy of Sciences, opposed "the turning over of the property of the academic institutions, whose cost runs into billions of roubles, to 300 academicians."

The decree institutionalised the transfer to the excluive ownership of the Soviet Academy of Sciences over the fixed assets and other state property, which are now being used by research institutions. [sentence as received]

"By giving the exclusive right of owner to a narrow circle of academicians who, according to the present rules of the Academy of Sciences, are the only ones who form the Academy, the presidential decree is turning the Academy of Sciences into a concern having a monopoly right of ownership over about the whole of this country's fundamental science," Alexander Sobenin, research worker from the Physical Institute of the Academy of Sciences, said at the rally.

Participants in the meeting adopted a resolution insisting on the suspension of the section of the decree that deals with the turning over of the property of academic institutions to the Soviet Academy of Sciences and demanding that this issue be submitted to the Soviet Constitutional Compliance Committee, because the president exceeded his powers.

The rally, attended by 200 to 300 scientists and specialists, was organised by the electors' Club at the Academy of Sciences and the board of the Moscow Scientists' Union. Neither president of the Academy Guriy Marchuk, nor vice-presidents of the Academy attended the rally.

Academy Official Praises Presidential Decree

LD1909103490 Moscow TASS in English 0909 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—"The Soviet president's decree 'On the Status of the USSR Academy of Sciences,' which places the Academy's basic funds and property, formerly owned by the state, at the complete disposal of the Academy as its exclusive property, is an important step in the effort to denationalise property," vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician Oleg Nefedov told TASS. "The implementation of this decree depends largely on the normalisation of the economic situation in the country," he noted.

"It is very important that the document provides for the creation of a national fund to promote fundamental research. The money necessary for this can be obtained only if the economy functions normally. It is planned to adopt a separate all-Union law on the formation and distribution of the fund," Oleg Nefedov noted. "The second aspect of the problem," he continued, "is how to use the fund."

Nefedov said the (?make) up of the Academy's new charter was among the primary tasks now tackled by the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. According to the presidential decree, the Academy of Sciences will possess huge material values, and they are being transferred not to the presidium of the Academy, as claimed by some, but to the scientific community represented by institutes and laboratories. The presidium has given the right to every institute to adopt its own charter, providing for the rational use of material values that will mostly become their property. The main role in this process will be played by the academic councils of institutes, Nefedov said.

"The 'brain leak' from academic institutions remains alarming. In addition to the raising of wages, envisaged by the decree for all categories of scientific workers," Nefedov stressed, "their social protection will be ensured by the now created social development fund."

"A part of the scientific community has expressed mistrust of the Academy's leadership. They say that under the charter in force the transfer of the Academy's property to [word indistinct] academicians will turn the presidium into a concern monopolising practically all the country's fundamental science," Nefedov noted.

Military

General Cites Decline in Military Prestige

LD1809122290 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 18 TASS—"Perestroika in the USSR Armed Forces has not picked up the required pace," believes General-Colonel Grigoriy Krivosheyev, deputy head of the USSR Armed Forces Chief of Staff.

"Slackening discipline in the Armed Forces and the declining prestige of the military service are evident," Krivosheyev told TASS.

Krivosheyev says that blunders and negative phenomena in the development of Soviet society affected the military. The number of draft dodgers increased six-fold in 1989 as against 1988. Cases involving young people going AWOL, especially those of them who were drafted from the Baltic region and Transcaucasus, became more frequent.

"The general slackening of labour and state discipline and the steep increase in the country's crime rate, especially among youth who are too young to be drafted, adversely affect discipline in the Army. Today, one in every thirty draftees has previous convictions and many youths have already become alcohol or drug-addicts," Krivosheyev stressed.

Krivosheyev believes that decreasing activity of Army communist organisations helped slow down the pace of perestroika in the Soviet Armed Forces. "The bid to limit the entire perestroika in the Soviet Armed Forces to organisational and personnel changes took the upper

hand. This practice has, however, altered nothing in the form and content of work to guide party organisations."

"An overhaul of the entire supervision of party activity is long overdue. It is meant to speed up perestroika," Krivosheyev said.

Decree on Reformation of Political Organs

90SV0035A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition

["Ukase of the USSR President: On the Reformation of Political Organs of the USSR Armed Forces, Forces of the USSR KGB, Internal Forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Railway Troops"]

[Text] In connection with the amendments to the USSR Constitution introduced at the special Third USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the trend toward separation of state and party functions, I decree:

1. To conduct a reformation of political organs of the USSR Armed Forces, forces of the USSR KGB, internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and railway troops, keeping in view their reformation into appropriate military and political organs for conducting state policy in the area of the defense and security of the USSR and for educating and providing social protection to servicemen.

2. For the Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, in conjunction with the USSR KGB and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, to develop a draft decree on military and political organs within three months. To present the draft decree for examination according to established procedure.

3. To implement measures concerning the reformation of political organs within the context of military reform being conducted and taking into consideration the tasks that are being resolved by the troops and forces of the Navy.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR

[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 3 September 1990

General Outlines Military Training Reforms

AU1309151490 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 6 Sep 90 p 5

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Colonel General Viktor Yermakov, Head of the Defense Ministry's Main Board for Personnel, by NOVOSTI correspondent Valeriy Borisenko; place and date not given: "The Most Important Is Human Resources"]

[Text] [Borisenko] A reform of the Armed Forces of the USSR will inevitably bring changes in the Army's and the Navy's personnel policies. What will these changes be and what characteristics will they have?

[Yermakov] The reforms will penetrate all aspects of army life, but in every case their main object is the human being. This is bound to influence our personnel policy. As before, the most important task will be to prepare comprehensively qualified professional cadres. Here, I regret to have to say that at the moment our military schools do not meet these criteria, because they lay too much stress on military career training. That is why not all officers graduate with sufficient knowledge to equip them to undertake further self-development and perfection. There are over 1,600 military specializations and this complicates the training process and optimum utilization of officer cadres. It also makes it difficult for them to assimilate information on technology and armaments.

In these reforms it is not only necessary to make a fundamental reanalysis of the system we use to prepare cadres in our schools, but also to improve our teaching methods. This is not so simple. It requires our whole teaching staff to make a fundamental readjustment, as well as to renew the scientific and educational base of military schools.

The most effective method is individualization, namely, the organization of teaching to cater for the potential and qualities of each individual. The structure of military educational establishments will also change. The criteria for assessing a graduate officer's level of attainment will be tightened up. At present, we are finalizing research that will be very useful for elaborating new teaching plans and programs in 1991.

Obviously, given the reduction in our Armed Forces, the demand for officers will diminish. Today, we train sufficient officers to cover natural attrition, namely, personnel who become reservists or who retire, as well as those who are passing into civilian units that we are reinstituting (for example, highway and other construction units and units that implement government highway construction plans in the Non-Chernozem regions.

Nevertheless, initial calculations show we need to reduce the number of graduates of military schools. This will not affect people who are currently studying there, but in the upcoming years the military studies intake will be somewhat less. This will make it possible to amalgamate schools that have similar specializations.

Parallel to the military reforms, there will also be changes in the career structure of military formations. This too will effect personnel policy. We shall have to consider the need to retire not only those officers who have full-term service, but to an extent also those who have 20-24 years of service. They are entitled to larger pensions given to them by the law on army pensions.

I am stressing this last point, because our officers now receive very favorable welfare benefits. These benefits have been accorded to active service personnel, reservists, and those in retirement.

Here, I have to say that in 1960 the government took a decision—which bound the council of ministers in the various republics and the local national councils—to ensure that military personnel who were leaving active service would be given housing-list priority and got a house within three months at the latest. In practice, however, it would be difficult to find a single person who actually benefited from this directive. At present, national councils are 24,000 dwellings in arrears. It is well known that former career soldiers must wander with their families from one leased dwelling to another for three to five years.

The Defense Ministry is doing all it can to help these people. Its own construction enterprises are active. The serviceman receives a money equivalent for the rent he has to pay. Depending on the region, this can be 30 to 90 rubles monthly per family.

The problem is that government and republican institutions have not learned to respect the law. Local administrators find many arguments, pretexts, and means to circumvent the law which gives army families the right to their own homes. Such actions infringe the law and elementary human rights. If one wanted to, one could even call it sabotage.

In the coming weeks, laws on the defense of the USSR, on military service obligations and military service, and the status of a soldier will be adopted. A bill on a military service career for officers is being prepared. All these laws will resolve present and future cadre problems in the Soviet Union's Armed Forces. However, their implementation will not simply depend on the Defense Ministry, but on all state institutions.

Expert Group Favors USSR Control of Military

PM1309150190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with I. Novoselov, consultant to a sector of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, by correspondent Colonel A. Belousov; place and date not given; published under the rubric "Experts at Work": "Agreeing on Defense"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The military aspects of the new Union treaty are being worked out by experts of the Union Republic Supreme Soviets, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops, and the railroad troops. Our correspondent asked I. Novoselov, consultant to a sector of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat, to speak about the work of the group of experts on problems of defense and military policy.

"The expert group," I. Novoselov said, "is not competent to adopt independently any decisions relating to the Union treaty. The preparatory committee has to do that. Our task is to polish up specific proposals for it. It can now be said that basically they already exist. And they have been drawn up by representatives of the republics in conjunction with union ministries and departments. The chief question was this: Is defense the prerogative of the Union or something for the republics themselves? We reached the conclusion that our Armed Forces must be a unified, interconnected complex created to defend the Union against external attack and functioning on the basis of decisions of the union's top organs of state authority and government..."

[Belousov] Forgive me, Igor Petrovich, but Estonia is already creating its own armed forces, is it not?

[Novoselov] Representatives of the Baltic republics are not participating in the work of our group of experts at today's stage. The representatives of the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova have not yet begun drawing up the draft treaty in earnest. Russian experts are actively studying questions connected with the structure of the Armed Forces, proceeding from systematic and analytical approaches. So far, therefore, the protocol that is the result of the experts' work has been signed by representatives of five republics—Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenia.

[Belousov] Which powers do the republics delegate to the Union, and which do they retain?

[Novoselov] In the experts' opinion, questions of military building and of leadership of the country's defense, the Armed Forces, and border, internal, railroad, and civil defense troops must be within the jurisdiction of the Union's top organs of authority and government. The sovereign republics participate in the formulation of military policy, the implementation of measures to organize and ensure defense, the resolution of questions connected with the deployment and activities of troops and military installations, in determining draft quotas, and in preparing Union legislation on the procedure for performing military service.

[Belousov] Certain republics would like to have their own corresponding forces to ensure law and order and public safety. In Kazakhstan, for example, they are republican internal troops. Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic People's Deputy L. Privalov has also spoken of the republic's exclusive right to create, control, and supply them, as I witnessed on the first day of the expert group's work. What now—have the republics' representatives changed their views?

[Novoselov] No, this question has not been removed from the agenda. The republics retain the right to have republican internal troops too.

[Belousov] Let us now touch on responsibilities. For example, who will pay for the land provided to accommodate military units and establishments? Who will look after servicemen transferred to the reserve?

[Novoselov] It is proposed that plots of land provided for defense needs will be in the possession and use of the Union. The group of experts of the USSR Ministry of

Defense and internal and railroad troops believes that no payment should be levied for them. But we did not reach a consensus here. As regards caring for servicemen, we have recorded the following in the protocol: The republics strictly observe Union legislation on defense and the legal status of servicemen, find employment, and provide material, domestic, housing, and medical services for persons discharged from active military service and members of their families.

Shlyaga Reports on CPSU Status in Military

PM1409142790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under "At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate" rubric: "Consolidating Democratic Processes"]

[Text] An enlarged session of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau has been held. Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, delivered a report on the progress in preparing the draft instruction on the work of CPSU organizations in the USSR Armed Forces and the reforming of party structures.

It was pointed out that the draft instruction prepared by a working group with the active participation of 28th CPSU Congress delegates, as well as military scientists and party officials, enshrines new fundamentals of party building in the Armed Forces reflecting the requirements of the CPSU Statutes and the 28th party congress resolution "On the Main Areas of the Party's Military Policy at the Contemporary Stage." It is proposed to have in all components ranging from the primary party organization to the All-Army Party Committee elected party organs with rights and responsibilities on a whole number of points analogous with rayon, city, and oblast party committees. Preference is given to the power of the party masses and the development of CPSU members' activeness and personal example in combat training, service, and discipline. Consolidating democratic principles and new approaches in work with Communists, the instruction realizes the requirements of the reform of the Armed Forces.

The chief thing now, the report and the speeches pointed out, is to ensure the real participation of all primary party organizations and every Communist in the discussion of the draft instruction. Political organs are required to organize this work, to promptly generalize suggestions and remarks, and to inform the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate of them. The draft instruction is to be discussed in close connection with the profound interpretation of the ideas of the 28th CPSU Congress and the practical realization of its decisions on defense and all-party questions.

The Bureau mainly approved the draft instruction and the views on new party organs and entrusted the working group with taking into account the comments coming in from political organs, party organizations, and individual Communists, as well as the remarks made at the session, and continuing to finalize the documents in order then to submit them to the CPSU Central Committee for discussion and for publication in the press.

The participants in the Main Political Directorate Bureau session proposed forming new party and control organs during the next report and election campaign in the CPSU. For the practical resolution of the tasks of the report and election party campaign and the holding of the All-Army Party Conference it was deemed expedient to organize a corresponding coordinating committee from among members of the CPSU Central Committee and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, delegates to the 28th congress and the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, and party activists in the Armed Forces.

Troop Movements Leave Questions Unanswered

PM1709103390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 2

[Feature under the "Situation" rubric comprising a report by S. Kiselev, an interview with Airborne Landing Troops Commander Colonel General V.A. Achalov by A. Kraynyy, and editorial comment: "Harvesting 'Potatoes' in Jackets? Increased Activity by Military Noted Last Week Caused Anxiety Among Russian Authorities and Public Alike]

[Text] The inhabitants of the plains never knew what was going on on Mount Olympus. The clang of metal would be heard, but mere mortals would not know whether this meant that the gods were fighting or cleaning their pots and pans. It's the same for us: Last week so many incomprehensible and mysterious things happened that we can only guess at the real meaning of events. How, for example, are we to interpret the following story?

On 11 September the head of the Russian parliament informed deputies at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session that Army airborne landing units were moving toward Moscow. "Attempts are being made to persuade us that this is a peaceful happening linked with preparations for a parade," B. Yeltsin said, "but there are strong doubts about this."

Airborne Landing Troops Commander Colonel General V.A. Achalov, who leapt immediately into print in IZVESTIYA, attempted to explain that the troops were indeed on their way to Moscow in connection with a parade and, as for the movements of other airborne landing regiments, they were heading off "to harvest potatoes."

I managed to find out that the Russian authorities had obtained their information about increased troop activity from Ryazan. Ryazan City Soviet Chairman Valeriy Ryumin—himself a retired lieutenant colonel

and airborne landing academy teacher, incidentally—called the office of the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and reported the following.

On the night of 10 September a parachute landing regiment stationed in Ryazan was roused by an alarm and headed off for Moscow. When the city soviet got to hear about this V. Ryumin contacted the regiment duty officer and asked for an explanation for this hasty march. "I'm unable to answer any questions. Personally I don't know anything," the duty officer answered. It was only 24 hours later that the city soviet chairman received a call from Regiment Chief of Staff Comrade Borisov to tell him that he too did not know where the regiment had gone and why.

On the same day it came to the knowledge of a city soviet deputy that a state of increased combat readiness had been introduced at the Ryazan airborne landing academy and a special eight-man operational staff had been set up under the leadership of officer Kolchenovenyy. The order was that the operational group was to be operational through 20 September.

The city soviet chairman sent RSFSR People's Deputy A. Gavrilov plus three city soviet deputies to the academy. They met with academy training department chief officer Timoshenko and demanded explanations for this increased activity by the military. The latter brusquely stated that no operational group had been designated and that the airborne landing academy was in a normal state of readiness and getting on with its training plans.

Meanwhile around 30 IL-76 aircraft had landed at a military airfield. "On the basis of preliminary data we learned that this meant two airborne landing regiments plus equipment," Valeriy Ryumin reported. Alarmed at such a plethora of events within a single day, USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Molotkov and city soviet deputy Aleksandr Voblenko headed for the airfield.

Subsequently the deputies found out that the airborne landing regiments belonged to the Pskov division and had come to Ryazan from Osh, where they had been "carrying out their tasks." Division Political Department Chief officer Kozlov barred the people's deputies from approaching soldiers and officers to ask them the questions they were interested in. As the deputies noted, the soldiers were dressed in bulletproof vests and helmets and carried ammunition. As their Volga drove past the aircraft the deputies could see that they contained combat equipment and soldiers. The unloading of combat equipment had begun. The deputies themselves saw two reconnaissance patrol vehicles coming out of the aircraft. The political department chief refused to answer their questions about where the regiment was going, for what purpose, and on whose instructions.

Here it is worth breaking off the description of the events in Ryazan to return to the explanations which Colonel General Achalov gave to IZVESTIYA. The story that "many paratroopers are helping with the harvest" in the Ryazan area and that therefore there is an extra airborne landing regiment in Ryazan, on the basis of the people's deputies' information, hardly looks convincing. Combat gear is not the most convenient form of clothing for working in potato fields, and combat equipment is not adapted for work in collective farm fields. After the IZVESTIYA item and the furor raised by deputies, the airborne landing troops loaded up their aircraft and flew off "in an unknown direction," never even getting to the Ryazan fields.

The Ryazan City Soviet chairman also reported that he had learned of an increased state of combat readiness in the Vitebsk Airborne Landing Division, which is directly subordinate to the KGB.

Information of this kind is coming in not only from Ryazan. As Lev Sukhanov, assistant to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman, told us, he has been approached in recent days by deputies worried by telephone calls from their constituents. Information about increased military activity has been coming in from Novgorod and close to Moscow. Thus, concentrations of large troop subdivisions were noticed near Moscow. A 20km stretch of road was crammed with soldiers. All the soldiers had ammunition.

A parade? As experts explained to us, you don't send specially painted vehicles or soldiers in specialist clothing to a parade, or hand out bulletproof vests and helmets for that kind of event.

This information is in the possession of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Exercising his powers as a USSR people's deputy, Gennadiy Burbulis, spokesman for the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, put an oral question to the session of the Union parliament virtually as soon as he knew about this information: What is happening? The deputy was not satisfied by what he regards as A. Lukyanov's "placatory" answer. Five days later neither the deputy nor the Russian Government had received any further information, even though the question was put in the presence of USSR Defense Minister Yazov. Maybe this means there isn't any other answer? But people in waiting lines, buses, and the subway are continuing to talk...

From the Horse's Mouth

Airborne Landing Troops Commander Colonel General Vladvislav Alekseyevich Achalov:

To be honest I have been both astonished and saddened by the furor raised over the movement of airborne landing troop units. You get the impression that it is beneficial to somebody to scare the people with the specter of a military coup. Is this to stop them thinking about cigarettes and bread?

Now for the facts. We were carrying out—or rather, attempting to carry out—planned exercises. I am not going to divulge their purpose—that is for professional use only—I will merely say that the tasks to be resolved during the exercise involved troop movements. I stress

that these were planned exercises which had been worked out well in advance, and it never occurred to me that some people might link them with the start of the Supreme Soviet session or with "saber rattling."

Taking account of the misinterpretation of these exercises by the mass media and then by the people, we had to halt them. As you will realize, when troops don't train their combat readiness declines. This is relevant.

As for the two airborne landing regiments marching along Moscow Oblast roads: These regiments are participating in preparations for a parade, and since the railroad is overloaded and there's no chance of getting railroad cars allocated, we decided on a march. It was all properly thought through: The march began late Sunday evening, when everybody had returned home from their dachas and the roads were practically empty, and had an escort of military motor vehicle inspectorate vehicles. They arrived in Moscow at 0600 in the morning.

And a last point. Far be it from me to give advice, but Comrade Ryumin as city soviet chairman ought probably to be concerning himself with ensuring that the city has bread, housing, and meat rather than monitoring where a commander is sending his regiment and why. This is my job, and I have my own commanding officers.

As for harvesting: We have been working in Tula, Kostroma, Ryazan, and Pskov Oblasts. We have gathered over 2,000 tonnes of vegetables and potatoes.

Instead of a Postscript

You can understand the public's concern and wariness when an "itch to be on the move" comes over the military. General Makashov's speeches at the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party are still ringing in our ears.

Military exercises are necessary, of course, and have always taken place. But our country has not always been living in such a state of tension as it is now. And as a minimum it has to be realized that the "sapper shovel syndrome" persists in society.

And therefore it is not so easy to dispel rumors. Especially since questions remain: a) Why did the regiment that flew into Ryazan "to harvest potatoes" depart so quickly without gathering a single sack of this valuable agricultural crop? b) Why is the Vitebsk Airborne Landing Division suddenly directly subordinate to the KGB? c) Why did the Russian authorities learn about exercises on the republic's territory from chance telephone calls?

A quarter of a century ago Anatoliy Arganovskiy noted: "There is no such thing as a good rumor. Any rumors are harmful." The only thing you can add to this today is: Society's security is guaranteed not only by the armed forces but also by keeping citizens informed about what is happening in them.

Defense Workers Form Trade Unions

PM1809111590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Text] The first congress of the Air Defense Forces Workers and Employees Trade Union was held at the Soviet Army Central House 12-13 September. It adopted the new organization's statutes, and elections were held for the Central Committee and for delegates to the 19th USSR Trade Unions Congress.

A. Shirokov was elected chairman of the trade union Central Committee.

The constituent congress of the Navy Workers and Employees Trade Union has been held in Moscow.

The statutes and program documents were adopted.

V. Trofimov was elected chairman of the trade union Central Committee after a contested election.

Baltics

Estonian Supreme Soviet Raises Meat, Milk Prices

LD1809223290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] A report from Tallinn says that Estonia has raised prices. At a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, which opened here, it was decided to carry out a price reform. Rises in meat and milk prices in October 1990 are the result of the removal of state subsidies for the production of these foodstuffs. A few weeks ago a report on the impending price hikes caused panic buying of these foodstuffs and destabilized the consumer market to such an extent that Tallinn city authorities were forced to make a decision on introducing ration coupons for meat and dairy products in the near future.

Estonian Prime Minister Savisaar, who spoke in parliament, accused the republic's Supreme Soviet of tardiness harmful to the economic reform. Indecisiveness in the question of removing subsidies is turning into increased hysteria on the consumer goods market. The prime minister also stressed that the refusal to consider this question at the previous session has tied the government's hands. It will now not be able to introduce new prices on 1 October as was planned but only on 15 October. Two weeks' delay, in his opinion, will do nothing to stabilize the demand for meat and dairy products.

As to the promised monetary compensation from freed budget resources, it is planned to pay them to pensioners and individuals on low incomes. However, the majority of the republic's residents will have to reconsider their food rations as only few will be able to afford foodstuffs at the new prices. A kilogram of butter, for example, will cost almost R10 while beef, pork, and sausages rise inprice by roughly the same extent.

Savisaar Views KGB Activities, Price Increases

LD1809153390

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian at 1705 GMT on 13 September carries live a 55-minute news conference with Edgar Savisaar, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic chairman, with Estonian journalists in Tallinn.

Estonian TV correspondent Barbo asks about the domestic market and if the government can close the borders. Can Kaitseliit [Defense League] be used for this purpose, or is it true that the government does not wish to cooperate with that organization?

Savisaar explains: "First and foremost, any border closure cannot be a unilateral process. It can only accompany agreements with those on the other side of the border. We are fairly close to such agreements and if we talk about wanting to close the border, the economic border, this autumn, then this means that we believe that these agreements can also be achieved even though the other side has fears and prejudices of their own in this respect."

Savisaar says that Kaitseliit is a nonformal organization which has not been registered in the republic even though branches have registered locally. Where they are registered locally the branches have not informed local governments of their activities. "It seems to me that at present Kaitseliit is not subordinated to anybody. We are concerned about this organization. We are closely observing the processes which are taking place within it." At the same time Savisaar does not doubt the honesty and sincerity of the individual men in local units who may not always understand the wider implications.

Hans Luik of EESTI EKSPRESS asks about KGB activities in Estonia and any future prospects. Savisaar replies that there are three forces whose influence on Estonian society the government attempts to curb: the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and there is a solution of a kind arrived at here with the Estonian Ministry becoming independent of Moscow; the KGB; and the Army. There is an agreement with the USSR KGB chairman to draft a document to determine the status of the organization in the Republic of Estonia. "At the moment I envisage that it exists with a similar status to that of a Soviet Army's military unit. It is another matter that its functions are of course quite different and considerably more dangerous than those of a military unit."

As Savisaar points out the most difficult to deal with is the third force—the Army, even though its presence has been much more neutral here in Estonia than it has been in Latvia or Lithuania. A recent demonstration of the difficulties is the Nadezhda (Hope) radio station which has been broadcasting now for a few days. "Even if to start with it has a small capacity, the Ministry of Communications has informed us that it operates on the territory of military units. A permit for it to function has also been provided by the Army."

When questioned by Ralf Amos of ETA about the government's relations with different parties, Savisaar says that parties have not yet formed allegiances and he implies that it is too early to say. There are even various unresolved matters with the Estonian Communist Party, like the opening and handing over of its archives. Savisaar points out that party buildings are not a question of dividing party property built with party money. He quotes figures and specific buildings to demonstrate that actually, despite the party's claims to the contrary, money was often allocated from the state budget.

Savisaar says: "So that you can draw quite a few conclusions here, there are issues with parties which the state has to clarify and it is not at all like this. The Estonian Communist Party can decide what it can lease to any joint venture and what it can sell and so on. It is still largely a matter for the state to decide and not solely a party issue. The government's special commission is

about to finish work, an investigation, in this area and in the near future we will also endeavor to report these matters to the parliament in order to adopt... to adopt a stance."

Several questions deal directly or indirectly with prices and price increases. Economist Valve Kirsipuu asks how it might be possible to stop price increases. Savisaar answers with an explanation of the state subsidy system and what will now happen when these are abolished in October. He says: "And I think that we will achieve a freeze in price increases only through a crisis, that is we will achieve it this way. We will, well, allow free prices or we will change them to correspond with reality." He gives the example of Czechoslovakia where prices decreased quite soon after an initial rise. He does not envisage quite the same speed for Estonia but thinks that after about 6 months there should be enough basic goods in the shops as far as the quantity is concerned. Only then will there be a crisis for the producer who will have to start thinking about improving the quality of his product. Savisaar says: "We forecast that this is a process of about one-and-a-half to two years, in the course of which the market for food stuffs in Estonia should acquire a new status."

Savisaar Attends Estonian Police School Opening

PM1409091890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by L. Levitskiy: "Police School Opens"]

[Text] Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Estonian government, was present at the opening of a police school in Pajkuz, a small locality near Parnu City.

Welcoming the first students, 110 Estonian youths selected by competition, ne stressed that great hopes are invested in the school and its graduates.

"The birth of the Estonian police is not the revival of the old militia. The concept 'police' is related to democracy whereas 'militia' is a purely military phenomenon. In the very near future a situation should be brought about where no one can flout the laws in Estonia. This is what our people expect from students of the Pajkuz school," the Estonian news agency cites the prime minister as saying.

The training period for a policeman is six months. In this time students will acquire rudimentary professional knowledge and skills sufficient, it is thought, to occupy the post of a sentry or a junior constable.

Anti-Russian Bias Seen in Estonian Housing Law

PM1409123590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent L. Levitskiy under the rubric "Details For IZVESTIYA": "Who Can Buy an Apartment"]

[Text] The Estonian Republic's draft Law "On the Principles of the Sale of Houses and Apartments From the State Housing Stock to Citizens at the First Stage of the Privatization of State Property" has been published. The papers print a commentary by government head Edgar Savisaar alongside the draft.

The draft is on the short side: five articles. The preamble is a proviso in itself. "The present law provides for the privatization of apartments (houses) in the form of sale in conditions where the object and person are specified." Specified in what way? First of all it is housing from the state stock that is being sold off. So privatization does not extend to departmental housing. Official housing, rooms in hostels, apartments where there are several tenants, and dwellings on which former owners and their heirs have or could have a claim cannot be sold.

Only citizens who were born in Estonia or have lived there for at least 25 years can buy an apartment. As for the sale of housing to other citizens or to foreigners, each individual case will be considered by the government. It will establish a general procedure for the privatization of apartments and disposal of the income thus generated. Some seventy percent of the money will go into a special government account. The rest will go into the accounts of self-managing local soviets.

Government head E. Savisaar comments in detail on the draft law. Emphasis is placed on the current tenants' priority and preferential right to buy apartments. The price will be decided using a special method which takes into account the maximum value per square meter, basic structure, type, age, layout, condition, and situation. The cost per meter can vary between 50 kopeks for houses that fall short of techical and sanitary norms and 50 rubles. The commentary does not mention the second figure—it was supplied by Tallinn City Council experts.

If these prices remain, the acquisition of an apartment will not pose any serious problems. Indeed, payment by installments is also envisaged. The first obligatory payment is 10 percent of the price of the apartment. Any housing thus acquired can be passed on to heirs but it cannot be resold. The restriction will apply until the procedure for the sale of real estate has been established.

There you have the housing privatization system at the first stage. The second stage comes along after the adoption of laws on citizenship, on dwellings and the sale of real estate, and on the completion of the return of nationalized property to its former owners or property that was left behind when they departed in the forties and fifties. The purchase of apartments will be linked to the payment of so-called frozen money to the population, that is their share of people's capital from the overall value of state property. Everyone who has received Estonian citizenship has a right to his part of it. It will take the form of nonliquid assets, that is the opportunity to redeem a specified sum in the form of housing, or bank and enterprise shares.... This approach will certainly contribute to strengthening social stability

and protection for the population, provided—as many observers stress this—that there is a just law on citizenship so you do not end up with a situation whereby assets and property that were created by the labor of the entire population are divided up among a select group of the Estonian population.

This fear is prompted by the fact that the zero option as far as the law on citizenship is concerned, that is giving it to everyone living and working in Estonia on a permanent basis, is rejected by many organizations. The restrictions they propose would mean that 70 to 80 percent of the Russian-speaking population would not receive citizenship. Therefore their property rights would be restricted as well as their political rights. If the draft becomes law, at the first stage of housing privatization plant workers living in houses built by their own hands and with their own money and transferred to city soviet balance sheets would not be able to buy their own apartments. It is not known either whether they would be given this right at the second stage. This has upset the workers and they intend to resolutely defend their interests. I. Shepelevich, chairman of the joint council of labor collectives, while supporting the idea of selling apartments, roundly condemned what he called another attempt to make it difficult for the Russian-speaking population to own property and real estate, in particular apartments. He believes that first you need to adopt a law on citizenship and define what this concept implies, and only then introduce it into new economic laws.

Latvia Signs Cooperation Accord With RSFSR

LD1809183190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The Russian Federation has become the first republic with which Latvia has signed an intergovernmental agreement on economic cooperation and the development of cultural ties. Latvian Council of Ministers Chairman Godmanis revealed this at a news conference in Riga. The document says the sides have agreed to maintain for next year the mutual deliveries of output at a level no lower than the existing one, and to take measures to balance their exchanges in the future on an equivalent basis. In the near future, the governments of the two republics are to complete the conclusion of treaties and the signing of agreements or protocols in major areas of economic and cultural cooperation, including mutual deliveries of major products, in the sphere of finance and industry, and questions of the preservation of the environment, the coordination of law enforcement actions, and population migration.

Latvia, Armenia Sign Economic Agreement

LD1909103690 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2000 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] An agreement was signed today on economic and cultural cooperation between the government of Latvia and the government of Armenia for the period from 1991 to 1995 at the Council of Ministers of Latvia. In preparing the document, a group of Armenian specialists worked together with workers of the Latvian Ministries of Economics, Trade, and Material Resources.

Latvian Assembly Reviews Constitution

LD1809202890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga, 18 Sep (TASS)—The deputies of the Latvian Supreme Soviet intend to propose the second amendment to the Constitution in the past three months, again raising the question of a quorum. "The minority faction is being completley excluded from the decision making process," opposition leader Sergey Dimanis said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent prior to the opening of today's parliamentary session. "Such a rapid change in the fundamental law is worthy of the Guinness Book of Records," he added.

The essence of the amendment is that in order for laws, decisions, and other acts to be adopted a majority of the votes of the plenary sessions participants is sufficient, but for articles of the constitution to be reviewed, no less than two-thirds of the votes of those present would be required but no less than half of the overall number of elected deputies. The previous conditions, when counting took place only from an overall number of mandates, and there are 200 of them, enabled the opposition albeit insignificantly to influence decisions. Now, with the existing majority of the People's Front faction, which is subjected to tough internal discipline, the views of opponents will have no significance at all. The destiny of any law will be determined by a raised or lowered finger of the leader of the majority, indicating which button all of them should unanimously press. The Communists, who predominated in the former Supreme Soviet, had freedom of choice when voting but, as is know, they have been displaced by the supporters of democracy "for clinging to diktat."

The compilers of the amendment allude to the experience of Western parliaments. True a minority is agreed, and only the number of voters is taken into account, but at the same time a number of procedures are envisioned that protect the interests of the minority. Such additional mechanisms are absent in the Latvian parliament. "If the amendment is endorsed, of which there is practically no doubt, and the role of the faction representing the Russian-speaking population is reduced to nothing, then we will have to change our tactics and refer more vigorously to public opinion," the head of the opposition said.

Latvian Supreme Council Debates Draft Laws

LD1809225690 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Deputies gathered at the Latvian Supreme Council with great hopes of adopting at least three draft

laws during the final readings. The issues of property, procurators' supervision, and a quorum in the parliament are all connected with changes in the Constitution. None has collected the necessary two-thirds of the deputies' votes. The feeling is that the day's efforts were wasted. Only the amendments to the Constitution deleting the articles on the activities of people's control in Latvia were supported in today's second reading.

Today the deputies began discussing the new wording of the regulations of the Latvian Supreme Council procedures. In the extensive draft, deputies' activities are regulated by 169 articles. Juris Bojars, leader of the working group, reported that in forming the procedures the practice of many countries and procedures of the first republic of Latvia Saeima were used.

Deputy Bojars stated that the People's Front of Latvia proposed a discussion of the version which envisages a speaker's institution be undertaken by the Latvian Supreme Council. The proposal was not approved in the debate. It is possible that further discussion on this will continue tomorrow.

Kezbers Examines Army Support for Latvian Party

LD1809131190 Riga International Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] At present in Latvia, there are said to be approximately 24-25,000 officers and noncommissioned officers of the USSR Armed Forces who are members of the CPSU. This is what the leader of the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia, Ivars Kezbers, believes. Saying that in nominating (?delegates) to the 25th congress of the CP [Communist Party] of Latvia, which took place in the spring of this year, the Army nominated delegates precisely from such a number of party members. But although practically 100 percent of the Army's commanding personnel are party members, exceptions are of course also possible and must be taken into consideration.

Without doubt, Ivars Kezbers indicated, this is a very impressive force. This is the chief basis of the united CP of the USSR in Latvia—the most sacred column, as Ivars Kezbers said, upon which the party in Latvia, led by A'lfreds Rubiks, relies.

Ivars Kezbers also indicated that at present the CP of Latvia is, without doubt, the best organized and strongest political party. It has preserved all of its old organizational structures and very large material means, which in general are to be regarded as unrestricted because they are being supplemented from the Army's cash office.

Because of that, Ivars Kezbers regards as the chief task of the present moment not to split the democratic forces through quarrels. He has also indicated that the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia will not form its faction at the Republic of Latvia Supreme Council, although more than 40 deputies are members of this party.

Kezbers To Lead Party

LD1709222190 Riga International Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Excerpts] On Saturday [15 September] the second congress of the Independent Communist Party of Latvia took place. [passage omitted] Ivars Kezbers has been re-elected chairman of the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia [Latvijas Demokratiska Darba Partija], Andris Plotnieks and Juris Goldmanis [have been elected] secretaries and members of the board. Let us add that at present there are approximately 21,000 members in the Democratic Party of Labor of Latvia, 98 percent are former members of the united CPSU.

Ventspils Rally Protests City Soviet Decisions

PM1409134190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "Yesterday's News File": "In Defense of Civic Rights"]

[Text] Ventspils (Latvian SSR), 13 Sep—Participants in a crowded rally held in Latvia's port city of Ventspils today demanded that deputies account for themselves to their voters. They are alarmed by decisions recently adopted at the city soviet's sessions.

What is it all about? First, deputies addressed parliament with a request to legislatively give the right to citizenship of the republic to people born in Latvia before 17 June 1940 and their offspring. Second, there have been substantial additions to measures adopted by the government earlier to curb the population's automatic growth. Now there is a prohibition on residence permits to persons demobilized after serving in the Army if they have not been drafted from Ventspils. Any student studying in another city and marrying there also loses the right to return home.

The rally participants appraised these and many other measures as violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of constitutional norms. They demanded a republic-wide referendum on the citizenship question and addressed an appeal to those they have elected to get down to the city's urgent problems and the fulfillment of their election campaign pledges.

Armored Vehicles Surround Sites in Vilnius

LD1909093190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0830 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Vidas Linkevicius]

[Text] I really do not know if this is a criminal case or not, but the fact is that this morning Soviet armored vehicles surrounded not only the monuments to Lenin, Kapsukas, and Chernyakhovsky, but also the city's municipal building as well. This morning they rushed to protect the memorial plaque to Antanas Snieckus, former Lithuanian Communist Party first secretary.

There is an armored vehicle on the sidewalk, the barrel of the machine gun is sticking out of the turret. Arguments are taking place next to it. The Russian language can be heard especially loudly there.

Hence the decisions adopted by the authorities are enforced with threatening weapons. Veterans' voices are especially loud there. Well, young pioneers no longer invite them to tell how smartly they waved their swords riding on a white horse into Klaipeda. At least this is how I understand the report shown on Central Television yesterday.

Lithuanian 18 Sep Supreme Council Reported

LD1809140390

Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0910 GMT on 18 September continues carrying live the 18 September session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in Vilnius. Reception is fair.

At 0912 GMT Deputy Vagnorius, who presented the draft provisional law on stabilizing the Republic of Lithuania's market, begins answering deputies' questions concerning this draft law and briefly describing each article. The government's point of view on the draft law is also presented.

At 1002 GMT Deputy Bronislovas Lubys is the first to speak in the debate. On the draft law he proposes amendments to individual articles in the draft law.

At 1008 GMT Deputy Albertas Simenas makes proposals concerning the sale of cars and other products, at the same time supporting the adoption of this law with amendments.

At 1014 GMT Deputy Vladas Terleckas expresses the belief that this law should not be adopted as the regulation of prices and other matters concerning the market should be decided by the government. In his opinion it would be impossible to control the implementation of this law. He then voices opposition to various individual articles in the law.

At 1031 GMT a recess is called until 1200 GMT.

At 1200 GMT reception becomes unmonitorable.

Reception improves at 1300 GMT. The Supreme Council debates the appointment of a commission to continue to cope with the draft law on stabilizing the republic's market. This commission is formed after lengthy discussions, and it is to meet tomorrow to start its work.

At 1330 GMT the live relay from the Supreme Council session ends.

CPSU Politburo's Shenin Visits Vilnius 14 Sep

PM1709104590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA Correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Meetings in Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius, 14 Sep—O.S. Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has arrived in Vilnius. He has visited Shalchininskiy Rayon. He has held a meeting with the Jasiunai village aktiv.

In the evening there was a meeting with the Shalchininskiy Rayon party aktiv.

M.M. Burokevicius, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (CPSU), also took part in the meetings with workers.

Says Party Loyal to Marx

LD1609164190 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 16 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius September 16 TASS—A news conference here today summed up the results of the final stage of the 21st Congress of the Lithuanian pro-Union Communist Party (CPL/CPSU). The news conference was attended by Oleg Shenin, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and its Politburo member, and Mikolas Burokevicius, first secretary of the CPL/CPSU Central Committee and also a Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Noting that the Party forum of Lithuanian Communists adopted very important and comprehensively balanced party documents—the programme and the rules—Shenin said: "The Congress once again graphically showed that the CPL/CPSU remained loyal to the creative nature of Marxism-Leninism, enriched by the latest achievement of public thinking. The protection of republican working people's vital interests and the realization of their socialist choice are its chief concern."

Asked about the place and role of the CPL/CPSU in the republic's social and political life, Shenin said: "That is the only political party which—not only in words but also in deeds—favours the further perfection of the Lithuanian socialist state and struggles for the restoration of the effect of the Constitutions of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on republican territory, for social justice and the realization of the population's civil rights.

"This party remains true to its choice. As regards further invigoration of its activity, Communists in the republic will have to step up work with the masses and adjust closer contacts with democratic parties and movements in the republic."

Pro-CPSU Lithuanian Party Congress Ends

LD1809101890 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] The congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform, which lasted for five months, concluded yesterday. The first stage took place on 21 April, the second on 21 July, and the concluding one took place last weekend.

A resolution was adopted at the congress which demands implementation of the resolution adopted by the USSR people's at the third congress of people's deputies to restore the constitution of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in the Republic of Lithuania.

Another resolution about Lithuania's statehood mentions that the congress being guided by the socialist choice of nationalities of Lithuania in 1918 and 1940, while realizing the historic responsibility for the future of the republic, declares that the Lithuanian socialist state is a sovereign Soviet state—the Lithuanian SSR.

Former Lithuanian Prisoners Issue Appeal

LD1909050790 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By correspondent Darius Tarasevicius]

[Text] Dear Fellow Countrymen, we former deportees and political prisoners, along with the entire nation, rejoice in the rebirth that has brought us to the restoration of the Independent State of Lithuania on 11 March 1990, states the appeal to the nation that has been unanimously adopted by the Conference of Lithuanian Deportees' Association and its branches.

However, this important fact has not yet implemented independence but has only opened the field for the battle for the Motherland's freedom, as is written in the appeal. The battle continues. Enemy forces are active, mighty and treacherous. They are active not only externally, but they also penetrate even into the democratically-elected Supreme Council and try to create the impression that the nation is not united and thus to diminish the belief in victory.

We hope the nation does not equate the increased shortages with the ideals of the fight for Lithuania's freedom. The Motherland's freedom cannot be bartered for anything.

We wish this to be the guideline for the Supreme Council which has been elected by us and which has our complete trust.

The appeal concludes with these words.

RSFSR

Coverage on RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

Armed Forces Discussed 17 Sep

LD1709180490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Andrey Nikiforov from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet session in Moscow]

[Text] A complex of issues on national security is being discussed today at the joint session of several committees and commissions of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, director of the Military History Institute, a people's deputy, noted in the main report that the previous approach to the organization of the system of national security, based mostly on the build-up of military power, is unacceptable today. He dwelled on some aspects of the national security system in Russia. Deputy Volkogonov, in particular, considers that Russia should delegate functions to the all-Union Army, by participating that is in the all-Union Army. He is also in favor of professionalizing and depoliticizing the Armed Forces as well as setting up a committee on national security attached to the Russian president or chairman of the Supreme Soviet. He also said that setting up a territorial national guard in Russia placed solely under the authority of the head of the Russian state should be considered.

A two-day seminar, a joint Russian-Swedish seminar—The Multiparty System and Its Role in the Activities of the Legislative and Executive Organs of Power—started today. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, made an opening report here and Berner, Sweden's ambassador in USSR, greeted the participants in the seminar. The theme, Experience of Multiparty Systems in Western and East Europe, is under discussion at the present moment.

The Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium and the RSFSR Council of Ministers are also meeting at the moment. Specific measures and timetables for the implementation of the adopted program of transition to the market economy and issues connected with the work of the extraordinary congress of RSFSR People's Deputies are being discussed.

This is, therefore, the news from the Russian Supreme Soviet session.

Military Relationship Viewed

LD1909092890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Vera Shchelkunov on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session]

[Excerpts] Today is a joint session of the chambers. Deputies are to examine the following issues: the state program to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and the establishment of an appropriate committee in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Government; newspapers of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; the draft law on local soviets and local self-government. [passage omitted]

At the same time as the plenary session in the House of Unions, a meeting began between members of the republic's government and military figures. USSR Defense Minister Yazov, heads of districts in the RSFSR's territory, and heads of oblast and kray soviets and executive committees are also present.

Opening this meeting Council of Ministers Chairman Silayev politely but firmly set out his position. It is time to review the relationship between local authorities and army units so that the military could play a more active part in tackling civilian tasks on the basis of specific and mutually beneficial—he stressed this—mutually beneficial agreements, and without distorting its main military function. Comrade Silayev stressed that Russia does not intend to set up its own military formations.

Reportage of RSFSR Constituent Congress

Komsomol Chief Gives Address

90UN2790A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Debate speech by V.V. Yelagin, first secretary of the RSFSR Komsomol Central Committee, at the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress on 5 September]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies and guests of the congress! Please excuse me for failing to be at the meeting yesterday evening. This was caused by the fact that I had an urgent need to meet with the editors of youth newspapers who had gathered yesterday, and the situation with the youth newspapers is critical. I did not expect that I would have to wait until evening before getting the floor, and that is why I went to this meeting.

But the situation with the youth press is critical. The reasons are the same as for everyone else. But they have been exacerbated by the fact that since the decision of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat certain party publishing houses have zealously begun to throw them out on the street. As a result, many youth publications have indeed ended up free, including of premises, paper, and a means of existence.

And I would like to begin today with the presentation of the Russian Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]. And I shall be speaking not on behalf of myself personally nor on behalf all youth, as we have become accustomed to hearing within these walls, and not even on behalf of all Komsomol members because the federative structure of our organization—and the Russian Komsomol was constructed according to the federative principle—today makes it possible to have one's own viewpoint on various processes and makes it possible to respect the opinion of the minority, right to the point of joining into a faction. And therefore, based on the traditions in relations among various organizations, the situation is developing in precisely the way the Komsomol organizations determine for themselves. Therefore I will express the resultant force that was achieved at our congress. I think the presentation is necessary because there is still a stereotype of an attitude toward the Komsomol as an unpaid appendage to the party or as a functional division of the party committee which develops its own youth policy and implements it itself. The more so since during this time, when party organizations have been very busy with their own problems, the situation in the Komsomol has changed a great deal. This is possibly why the party leaders, when they sometimes tear themselves away from their work and come to the Komsomol auditorium, are frequently surprised not to find the customary understanding and agreement. But no party leaders at all found the time to come to the congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Komsomol. But cadets and democrats did manage to come. And yet if we look carefully we can find at our congress much of the same thing for which this congress is being criticized. At least we managed to avoid many mistakes during the course of the congress.

Such an attitude and the lack of a succinct and clear position, lagging behind the processes occurring in the society, and the decline of the authority and prestige of the CPSU have led to a situation where the program adopted at the Komsomol congress does not contain a word about the Communist Party. A decision was made that for the transition period of the establishment of a real multiparty system and for the period of clear determination of the positions of various parties, we would not bind themselves strictly to any one of them and would arrange our work on the basis of our own program, cooperating with the parties and movements whose program targets and individual points of these programs coincide with ours.

Based on this I shall discuss a comparison of the action program of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party and the program of the Russian Komsomol. Not to contrast them but to show even today how differently we look at various things in different ways. The program of the RSFSR Komsomol is based on the priority of human values, and in the draft action program of the Communist Party of Russia one can clearly see features of the theory of the class struggle. The second thing: clearly seeing before us ever greater difficulties in the transition to a market economy, and aware that youth will be hit hardest, the congress of the Russian Komsomol still thinks that this painful period is necessary and there is no alternative to it. But the draft of the action program, while insisting on the socialist direction of the transition to a regulated

market economy, actually still holds positions of activation of the use of planning, which should not forfeit its role in the establishment and strengthening of control over wholesale and retail prices and the priority of state property, restricting the market to the role of a market only for consumer goods and services and means of production. The congress of the Russian Komsomol is against the antidemocratic idea of the United Workers Front concerning holding elections in production districts. And the action program suggests developing an electoral system that would provide for representation in the soviets of emissaries from labor collectives.

The idea of eliminating exploitation of man by man while retaining exploitation and even superexploitation of man by the state is incomprehensible.

Working confidently with the concepts of "socialist property," the "socialist structure," and "socialist ideas," at the same time the draft envisions only the additional development of the modern concept of socialism. Thus while maintaining the legislative initiative of the Komsomol for resolving the main youth problems, as is written in the draft, the draft fundamentally contradicts with other points the idea that the initiative of the Komsomol is based on a transition to a market economy with a diversity of forms of property. There are differences in the views of our future. What path of development do we see for the Komsomol? First, we need to remove from it the veneer of statehood. We must now perform a duty for youth: form a state youth policy. To do this we intend to use our own base, the Komsomol, our structure and our science. We are developing a plan for social service for youth which will work not only in words but in reality for the protection of the interests of youth under the conditions of the market economy. Second, we are acting as the initiators of a program for mobilizing young intellectual resources of Russia. Only by relying on the intellects of young people will it be possible to revive Russia. I think that the party can also become involved in this both with its funds and with its training base.

We are convinced of the need to form and support a block of left-wing youth forces. If we join together we will win over those who have already joined together. We intend to develop our own economy in earnest, thus creating additional jobs for youth. In addition to those hundreds of thousands that already exist today. We intend to finally overcome the psychology of the monopoly with respect to youth and join the other youth organizations of the republic. We are faced with serious work for transformation and adaptation of the structures under the conditions of the objective processes of deideologization of schools, the Army, and the state organs.

As you can see, the differences are so fundamental that if the draft under discussion today is actually passed, the Russian Communist Party will be in opposition to the CPSU and the Russian parliament and the RSFSR Komsomol. And all the appeals for consolidation are leading nowhere. Is it really possible to consolidate all this? We must be soberly aware that in this case a split is inevitable and that it will go beyond the party offices. It will cut like a sharp knife through Communists and between the adult population and youth, and through the people who have just begun to believe in the Russian parliament, which is already so angry and exhausted that needs no "ideological sacred cows;" it needs real milk. It does not need a light along the way; it needs hope, even if the path to it is very difficult. There is probably no path more difficult than today's. And youth need clarity in the future more than anything else. One can say with confidence that the youth will never follow a party that still intends to develop a modern concept of socialism, a party thatt is renewed only in declarations but in reality does not accept youth, does not rejuvenate thought, and does not have its own youth policy.

Therefore before including in the program that the Communists are convinced, it is necessary to clarify what they are convinced of. This means that time should be allotted for this clarification and we should not take such a serious step with the threat of a split and serious consequences without having heard the Communists. We must do everything possible for real consolidation of forces, having cast off the stereotypes and having placed the lives of the people at the top of the list. Therefore I support the formation of a committee for the social rescue of Russia. We are prepared to participate in it. We are calling for the congress to forget about its ambitions and display good will and declare an initiative to hold a roundtable discussion with all parties and movements. We must understand one another. (Applause).

Marxist Group Presents Views

90UN2790B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Debate speech by Yu.N. Yegorov, design group chief at "Skorost" Plant in Moscow, for the Marxist Platform of the CPSU, at RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress on 6 September]

[Text] Comrades! It is a fact that we have had an orthodox reading of Marxism and, figuratively speaking, the childhood disease of left-wing tendencies in communism has transformed our country's social organism into a surgical patient. It is also a fact that in the sixth year of perestroyka the country is being torn apart by centrifugal forces and there is a critical shortage of soap, tobacco, and everything else. The criminal world has declared war on the nation; fear and hostility are growing in the country. But repentance or even rejection of anticommunism by either side will not change the situation. Action and results are needed. But what is standing in our way? In our opinion there are two factors.

The first: very different positions in the assessment of the underlying causes of the crisis. And the second: the internal condition of the party. The first follows from the fact that the party used to be the only one, the ruling one, and, naturally, it is no accident that with the collapse of the authoritarian-bureaucratic system practically an

entire spectrum of political attitudes appears, for they have existed all along. Our position is this: Complete separation of the worker from the results of his labor and the means of his labor has ultimately led us to a crisis, and the corrosion of our society continues.

Socialism is not an ideal; it is a system with a predominance of various social, including collective, forms of ownership of the means of production. Therefore Stalinism in all of its manifestations is anti-Marxism, anti-Leninism; it is not socialism.

And since the socioeconomic section of the published draft of the action program does not reflect important elements of the position of the Marxist Platform, a number of its positions have been articulated imprecisely. Here we consider it necessary to inform you of this and ask that the following be added. I shall read one excerpt, but I will turn over to the editorial commission the entire document with all of our additions.

"The Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] thinks that state ownership, which was previously merely proclaimed to be national, should be transformed in such a way as to assume a social nature in reality. The basis of this transformation consists in democratization and decentralization of state property and extensive development of self-government of the workers at all levels of the economy. A considerable share of state property can be transformed into the property of the labor collectives.

"Communists will oppose a line toward compulsory capitalization of the economy."

We think that the Communist Party of the RSFSR could take the legislative initiative concerning the transfer of a considerable number of small and medium-sized state enterprises to collective ownership by the workers employed at them through a legal act or for a nominal payment even now in the last quarter of this year, having thought the procedure through carefully, of course. Such a measure would lead to a change in property relations for 10-12 million or perhaps even 20 million workers. This would have a significant effect on the socioeconomic climate in the republic.

Under the conditions of specific market relations the collectives will quickly find intelligent managers among themselves or hire them from abroad, but the owners will still be the workers.

Joining these enterprises together into national concerns and larger complexes during the process of historical development would lead to the formation of truly national property.

It is clear to everyone that the most crucial problem is food. It is time to understand that the concept "we feed the people" in principle cannot produce results. A policy that produces no results for a large number of years is not a policy; it is stupidity raised to the rank of policy.

We must categorically switch to exactly the opposite concept: "Do not stand in the way of the people feeding themselves." The association of peasant farms and the peasant union are capable of developing a food program on an alternative basis and implementing it. And each region will develop its own system of land use and production relations, taking into account its traditions and realities.

Judging from certain statements, there are party members who have forgotten what is written in the party hymn: "We have the right to own the land." And we must remember Lenin's slogan: Do not dare to command... (especially the land).

Comrades, the depth of the crisis that has infected our society explains the fundamental impossibility of further development through individual reforms and objectively leads us to a radical change in property relations and the entire system of soviet power. The soviets actually must have charge of all the financial and material resources in order to conduct policy in the interests of the workers on the territory where they live. Both the path and the result depend on which forces are capable of making these radical changes with the support of the majority of the people. Life demands these changes and I would say that to resist them would be immoral. If we do not do this someone else will. Let me note that there are people who assert that we are in favor of destroying property. But property, and I quote: "achieved through one's labor forms the basis of any personal freedom, activity, and independence." This is Marx in the second section of the "Manifesto" from 150 years ago.

The situation is such that there is no alternative to the market. The essence of the discussion should be not about the market and not about what kind of market it should be but about who should pay for the transition to the market. Two variants are possible. The first is inflationary and, in order for it to be really effective, it should be followed by a policy of privatization. This is a radical variant but it is a right-wing radical variant. Inflation is the most antisocial form of improving state finances. A decline of the standard of living is inevitable and loss of control of the inflation process is inevitable. Essentially, we have no reliable instruments; they have not yet been developed. Who will be personally responsible for this?

The workers will pay for the transition to the market. If this variant is selected the Communist Party of the Russian Federation must quite simply come to the defense of the workers and not be government accomplices in any disguise, no matter how many party members there may be there.

The second variant passes through a system of deflation, which has been developed by a number of scholars, with the transfer of state property to the labor collectives, with a monetary reform that does not involve confiscation, through which, in essence, all countries have passed when restoring a destroyed market, but we have not had

a market. This is the left-wing radical variant. And with these we can figure out who is on the left and who is on the right. Only this will create the preconditions for a healthy market. The ones who pay for the transition will be the wheeler-dealers in the shadow economy and the forces associated with them. And they include part of the nomenklatura and the criminal world. It will also be necessary for the state to dispose of above-norm supplies of material assets.

There are problems along this path. There are large-scale political provocations and armed resistance from the Mafia. Comrades, we must call things by their real names. Depending on what the real alignment of forces is, we must choose, and if the presidential authority of a great power, such as the Soviet Union is supposed to be, can follow the example of small Columbia, which declared war against the Mafia, we must select this variant. In this case the Communist Party of the RSFSR should rally all of the workers and support the government with everything it has. The question is fundamental; it is a major political question. The Communist Party of the RSFSR should be the initiator of a nationwide referendum concerning the two variants of the transition to the market. (Applause)

The right-wing radical, I repeat, the right-wing radical wave is gathering force in the country. If the government decides that it is possible to open hard-currency accounts—think about it—"without presenting documents pertaining to the origin of the funds," broad channels will be opened up for financing right-wing projects from abroad. This is not an economic measure. This is a question of security. We must change this decision legislatively.

I was in Bulgaria not long before the burning of the party house there and I saw how garden-variety fascism is starting there. Now we must make public which funds are being used to support the leaders of a number of movements and which funds they intend to use to conduct their forums. (Applause)

The left bloc for the socialist option in the country is just being formed. It must be completely formed this year. The Communist Party of the RSFSR must become the party of a broad bloc of left-wing forces in the country. The Marxist Platform will be among the proponents of the left-wing bloc.

Comrades! We are concentrating all of our attention on the country's problems and this is understandable. But we must not forget about the fundamental need to look within the party as a living and complex organism. Why is that necessary right now? Our great people are going through a crisis and will ultimately make it through this experience. But society, figuratively speaking, will not emerge from this process. It will simply be different. And if our party wants to have influence in the new society it must be different. This is not a matter of the first, second, or third leaders but of the political activity of the majority of members of the party. I emphasize—activity. For we have not actually been involved in this but only the realization of political principles. And effective activity of people who think alike is possible only after carefully working out positions upon which they agree. And this means discussion. This is why the Marxist Platform has come out in favor of extensive discussion before the second stage of the congress. But since we have convened we must work. An action program, in our opinion, is a position. A party program with deadlines and responsibilities must be developed through discussion in the local units. But we must express our opinion regarding the main point today and come up with a document, a statement, or a declaration—call it what you will. What should we be categorically against? I have in front of me "400 days." I shall quote just one point and I think that this will be our path. If you will allow me, literally six lines. It is written there: "...we must get rid of our illusions about various forms of so-called collective ownership in industry and transportation, including the leasing of enterprises by labor collectives—the use of such forms of organization of economic activity apparently must be considered a forced measure, an intermediate stage in the transformation of property." Now we can see all the ultimate goals of certain forces. Thank you for your attention. (Applause)

Politburo Urges Social Renewal

PM1709133590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Message from RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Communist Party Central Committee Politburo to RSFSR party organizations and Communists: "We Need a Party of Action"]

[Text] To party organizations and all Communists of the Russian Federation.

Comrade Communists!

Created by the will of the party masses, the RSFSR Communist Party is beginning to act. Our Constituent Congress firmly declared that our political course, that our position is the position of the 28th CPSU Congress, the position of radical perestroyka, the course of humane, democratic socialism. And we will not deviate from this course.

The party of Russian Communists will become a party, the chief law of whose activity will be the supremacy of the party masses and reliance on primary organizations. Our party is open to cooperation with all sociopolitical movements to which Russia's interests and the good of all peoples are close.

We are embarking on work under conditions of exacerbated difficulties. And this is leaving its mark on the report and election campaign now under way in Russian Federation party organizations. The economic crisis has made the contradictions of social life more distinct. Some Communists have lost their head and begun to

waver. Others, confused by the growing wave of anti-communism and by attacks on and mockery of the name and memory of V.I. Lenin, have lost their bearings. Militancy is diminishing, and purposefulness in the actions of party committees and primary organizations is being lost. The report and election campaign must decisively break this trend and revive Leninist faith in the rightness of our cause.

Conscious of our responsibility at such an abrupt turning point in history, we advocate the resolute renewal of Russian society; the revival of its statehood, spiritual culture, and national traditions; and the strengthening of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the Federation and the entire Soviet Union; and we support all constructive steps in this direction by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian Government. We favor a just social policy, the people's high level of well-being, a highly efficient economy, and a market which will not lead to the replacement of the social system.

This is our goal, our action program, the task of every party cell.

By our actions we must prove every day that our party is the flesh of the working people's flesh; has the same concerns as workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia; and will always defend their interests in the field of political struggle. Today, when the Leninist principle "All power at the center and in the provinces belongs to the soviets" is being implemented and when real multiparty conditions are taking shape, Communists are trying to ensure that this power operates exclusively for the good of working people and the entire people.

And when we encounter growing lawlessness, disorder in economic management, the decline in state and labor discipline, a shortage even of things that are in abundance, and the elementary lack of protection for our fellow citizens, we must ask this question: What is up? We must put specific demands to those organs and officials endowed with responsibility and with the people's trust, whatever parties they belong to. People expect precisely Communists, and primarily deputies, to have their weighty say and to help to realize voters' rights and establish reliable control from below so as to prevent any distortion of the essence of Soviet power and to ensure the protection and preservation of civilian and national concord in the republic and the USSR.

These are our aspirations of which we speak openly and directly.

The fate of socialist renewal depends on each of us, comrades. Understanding of this must become the leitmotiv of party meetings and of the whole report and election campaign. As a result of it, every party committee and every primary organization will define its specific action program in the present situation. Communists must become the soul of the workers movement, cement the Peasant Union, and be the organizers of mass work at places of residence. Today it is extremely important to see to the creation of conditions for people's social protection, particularly for young people and veterans. Together with trade unions and labor collective councils, to try to ensure that working people themselves decide the fate of their own enterprises and develop public self-management.

To shake off apathy, to overcome inertia, to cast aside doubts and uncertainty, to vigorously embark on resolving vital problems and the people's needs, to rally like-minded people, to strengthen party ranks—this is the chief task of the present report and election campaign, of our Central Committee. We must more boldly promote committed Communists and enterprising leaders, including from among young people and women, and form a strong, reliable aktiv of the Russian Federation's Communist Party. Precisely work—specific, profitable work—must show that we are a force capable of helping society to emerge from a period of protracted crisis and to implement the 28th CPSU Congress decisions.

[Signed] The RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo

Delegates Polled on Issues

90UN2780B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 7 Sep 90 p 1

[Opinion poll conducted by the "'Congress' sociological service": "Congress Delegates on Society, the Party, and the Economy"]

[Text] Yesterday the "Congress" sociological service gave delegates of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party the results of a poll taken before the beginning of the second stage—on 3 September 1990. Some 1,713 people participated in the poll.

Given below is the distribution of answers to questions on the questionnaire which reflect the evaluations and positions of the delegates concerning crucial problems of socioeconomic policy and life within the party (in percentages of those questioned).

Comparing the two congresses—of the CPSU and the first stage of the Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party—the delegates, relying on the opinion of Communists, evaluated the positive results of the CPSU Congress higher than those of the Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party by a factor of 1.5, and 2.5 more people gave negative evaluations to the Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party than to the CPSU Congress.

I. PROBLEMS OF SOCIOECONOMIC POLICY

WHAT PROBLEMS IN THE LIFE OF THE RSFSR DEMAND MAJOR ATTENTION FROM COMMUNISTS? (It was possible to give several variants of the answer.)

economic reform—87; social protection of people—63; interaction between the RSFSR Communist Party and

the soviets—50; crime—41; interethnic relations—40; level of general culture of the population—37; the ecological situation—29; determination of the role and position of the RSFSR Communist Party and the CPSU—28; strengthening relations between the RSFSR and the Union republics—18; restoring the federation and strengthening the sovereignty of the autonomous entities—14; RSFSR foreign economic ties—8; other problems raised by delegates on the questionnaire—3.

DO YOU CONSIDER IT NECESSARY:

To change the economy over to a market basis?

yes, but there is no hurry—59; yes, without delay—27; no, although perhaps it cannot be avoided—9; no, that is unacceptable—3; it is difficult to answer—1; no answer—1.

To carry out a monetary reform?

yes—65; no—26; it is difficult to answer—8; no answer—1.

To develop the private sector of the economy?

this is permissible in a small volume—74; it should prevail—11; no, but there is no way to get around it—6; there should not be one—6; it is difficult to answer—1; no answer—2.

II. PROBLEMS OF LIFE WITHIN THE PARTY

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING NOW TO WIN POLITICAL AUTHORITY FOR THE RSFSR COMMUNIST PARTY? (It was possible to give several answers to the question.)

coordination of actions with the soviets—69; consolidation of the position of the party organizations in the labor collectives—46; the achievement of partnership with all political forces of the RSFSR—42; provision of unity of communists—36; stepping up work in the places of residence—31; active enlistment of the intelligentsia in party work—16; other tasks raised by delegates on the questionnaire—8.

WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MAIN MOTIVES FOR LEAVING THE CPSU? (It was possible to give several variants of the answer.)

unwillingness to carry out party decisions and duties and to pay dues—39; disenchantment with communist ideas—37; a lack of faith in the CPSU as a political force—36; people's unwillingness to be responsible for mistakes of the past—33; the fear that membership in the CPSU could cause problems—29; loss of advantages from party membership for job advancement—29; disagreement with the political line of the CPSU—25; dissatisfaction with relations in party organizations—10; other motives raised by delegates on the questionnaire—7.

WHAT ROLE WILL THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS PLAY IN THE LIFE OF RSFSR COMMUNISTS?

positive—38; none—32; negative—11; difficult to answer—14; no answer—5.

Silayev Examines Difficulties for '500 Days'

PM1909093790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Choice Made"]

[Text] A single market, a single currency, a unity of forces in implementing the economic reform in the USSR—such are the main principles of the Russian program for the transition to the market, I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, said at a press conference in the capital yesterday.

He noted that representatives of all the Union republics except Estonia took part in forming the Russian program, which has been dubbed the "500 days" program. The RSFSR government attaches special significance to this aspect because negative processes in the country's economy are prevailing over positive ones which places the Soviet Union's very existence in jeopardy. When preparing the program it proved possible to consolidate the forces of the Union republics on an economic basis, in the opinion of the RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman. This approach will make it possible to defer the implementation of the decisions of some republics on their own currency and customs service and also to create completely new structures for cooperation between Union republics in a single voluntary Union.

The main contradiction between the programs of the USSR and RSFSR governments lies in the radical nature of the measures proposed, I.S. Silayev believes. He stressed that society cannot wait and therefore the Russian government is offering not some vague promises at an unspecified time but a specific package of joint actions in the near future. In the first stage it is proposed to end the negative processes that are taking place in the country, then stabilize the economy, and finally achieve a positive breakthrough. This will take 500 days beginning 1 October 1990.

The "500 days" program, the RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman believes, includes a Union-related element because the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies has advocated a single Union of our republics. Of the 21 draft laws and other acts necessary to implement the program, 15 are to be adopted by Union republics and and six by the USSR Supreme Soviet. I.S. Silayev noted that if the central organs delay or obstruct the adoption of these laws, such as the law on the transfer of land into private ownership for example, the implementation of the program will run into certain difficulties and that is extremely undesirable.

Silayev Visits Arkhangelsk 13 Sep

LD1309211690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Sep 90

[Text] Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, is acquainting himself with Arkhangelsk today. He visited all kinds of enterprises and inquired as to how people are living and how they are working. The prime minister signed a document allowing the urgent sale abroad of a considerable quantity of timber in exchange for meat products.

RSFSR Trade Unions Chairman Outlines Aims

LD1709194890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 17 September carries a 14-minute "topical interview" program with I.Y. Klochkov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Federation of Independent Trade Unions, answering question from an unidentified reporter.

Klochkov outlines the structure and aims of the organization saying that, unlike the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], it is not built on the principle of a "hierarchic pyramid" but is a free fellowship of primary organizations. The total number of these organizations in Russia is 380,000, but some of them have not joined the federation yet. There are 317 member delegates in the federation's council, which is composed of two delegates from each regional Union council and five from professional branches in each region.

Klochkov says that the new independent trade union movement aims for solidarity with workers' movements across the country. He says there is a need to break the traditional working man's distrust of union bureaucracy.

Klochkov envisages some serious collisions between the USSR and RSFSR trade union structures. As the AUCCTU is stepping down, a new trade union body will be created in the country. Klochkov says this should become the general trade union confederation of the country, comprising the union centers of the republics and federations of professional unions.

Asked which of the two programs for transition to the market economy his organization favors, Klochkov says the new Russian government and its "500 days" program provide the only hope for any progress in the new future. He says the federation's economic experts are studying all the aspects and will give their recommendations. The radical nature of the program as well as its plans for decentralization and debureaucratization of the economy are its best features. The proposals for social protection mechanisms built into the program should be developed and implemented before the economy moves to free market relations.

Klochkov indicates that the federation will begin consultations with the government on social protection of the unemployed, including the size of unemployement benefits and the administration of such a system.

Peasant Party To Protect 'Spritital Heritage'

LD1709090290 Moscow TASS in English 0838 GMT 17 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—"The Peasants' Party of Russia (PPR), which is now being formed, intends to uphold the political and economic interests of the peasantry," said People's Deputy of the USSR Yuriy Chernichenko, chairman of the PPR Organisational Committee.

"The Peasants' Party of Russia", he said, "seeks to be a democratic and parliamentary party that will endeavour to restore the peasantry. Its constituent congress is expected to be held in Moscow this December. The organisers believe it will be attended by representatives from all regions of the Russian Federation.

Chernichenko said the new party will "uphold not merely the peasantry's economic interests, but protect its homes, families, land, culture and spiritual heritage." He believes the nation must have a sound and strong peasantry, no matter what they are called—cooperators or farmers. They must feel themselves masters on their land.

A constituent conference of the PPR, recently held in Moscow, elected an organisational committee and issued an appeal of the new party. The document stresses that "the peasantry declares its reemergence on the political arena in these grim, critical days. We are a party of land reform and multiple forms of land ownership."

The PPR declares its active support of the agrarian policy of the Russian Supreme Soviet and intends to "help turn words into deeds, good laws—into bread and money. Our party will have no division into farmers or members of collective farms, state farm agronomists or independent peasants, cooperators or workers. Ploughmen, blacksmiths and flour millers have always worked hand-in-hand," the appeal notes.

Kalugin Views People's Deputy Election Victory

90UN2806A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 37, 12 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy O.D. Kalugin by V. Yanelis; place and date not given: "Kalugin Replaces Polozkov"]

[Text] [Yanelis] Oleg Danilovich, has someone from the leadership congratulated you already?

[Kalugin] No. So-called officials are silent, in Krasnodar as well. Not one person from the kray leadership deigned to even call after finding out the result of the voting.

However, I am not surprised. If someone comes to dislike a person in our country, it is for a long time.

[Yanelis] Perhaps you feel better protected now that you have the credentials of a deputy.

[Kalugin] Generally speaking, yes, though even before the election I was not particularly afraid of being dealt with.

[Yanelis] Are you not showing off? After all, you have challenged one of the mightiest institutions of power in our country.

[Kalugin] No, I am being absolutely sincere. To be sure, there was a moment of mental discomfort when I read the infamous ukase of the president by which, as the KGB perceives it, I was reduced to poverty and disgrace. However, this went away quickly.

[Yanelis] Therefore, you did not embark on the struggle for the credentials of deputy out of a desire for self-preservation, did you?

[Kalugin] Not at all. This was a logical continuation. After all, I got involved in political activities long ago, when I displayed disobedience by refusing to be silent and live out my life in prosperity and peace. However, I would not have agreed to run for people's deputy had this not been Krasnodar Kray, the turf of Medunov and Polozkov, as they say, the land of "unfrightened rayon committees." I wanted to try my luck and win exactly over there, in what many regard as the stronghold of stagnation.

[Yanelis] Was your victory hard to win?

[Kalugin] It was indeed hard. They turned off my microphones in the square, prevented me from speaking to some labor collectives, and rejected my right to outline my election program in the kray newspaper. Even the local church came out against me. The kray leadership was helped by two KGB generals from Moscow, one of them being chief of intelligence Shebarshin himself. They argued that the people would be making a grave political mistake by supporting me in the elections. It came to the point of my being publicly called a traitor, without thought being given to the meaning of what or whom I have "betrayed."

[Yanelis] However, someone helped you too. You would not have won otherwise. Who was it?

[Kalugin] Young people, just, honest people with integrity, workers, intellectuals, peasants, and war and labor veterans. On occasion I felt that even functionaries of the apparatus were sympathetic, despite the fact that they were instructed from above to boycott me. One episode made me particularly happy. An officer from a unit of the KGB Maritime Border Troops came to our hotel and said that the personnel were banned from meeting with me. However, I may rest assured—they will vote for me anyway.... Besides, I had deputies Koryagina, Yakunin, Politkovskiy, Chernichenko, Obolenskiy, Urazhtsev, Belozerskiy, and others at my side. These are people whom I sincerely respect.

[Yanelis] You represent the interests of several million citizens of Krasnodar now. It is no longer important whether they were in favor of you or not. The local authorities are likewise still around. They are still the power which you as a deputy from the kray will have to work with. Will you be able to overcome your antipathy?

[Kalugin] I am ready to forget all grudges and embark on businesslike cooperation. All of us need mutual understanding more than ever. However, I will not strike any bargains with my conscience. Also, I will make use of all my powers as a deputy in order to protect my voters and citizens at large against lawlessness and tyranny in all forms.

Karelia Sends 'Ultimatum' to Yeltsin, Silayev

LD1809190590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by Boris Ternoushko from Petrozavodsk]

[Excerpt] The third extraordinary session of the Karelian Supreme Soviet began in Petrozavodsk today. The issue of the extraordinary situation concerning foodstuffs in the autonomous republic, which is the main issue on the agenda of the session, has been brewing for a long time. Various essential foodstuffs have disappeared from the shelves of the shops of Petrozavodsk and other towns and villages of Karelia in the last couple of months. There is practically no meat, no meat products; various types of vegetables are missing as well. There are huge lines for tobacco, while lines for bread have appeared in the last couple of days. There is a limit to human patience which is demonstrated by numerous strike warnings from labor collectives. All this tension was caused by the fact that contract foodstuffs deliveries into the republic practically ceased.

Meanwhile, at the session following a stormy discussion, a reply measure was adopted. A government telegram has been sent to Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, and Silayev, chairman of the republican Council of Ministers. It says that if Karelia does not receive goods as it should, then it will cease dispatching timber, newsprint, and construction materials beginning 24 September.

I talked with Sergey Petrovich Blinnikov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic after the document was adopted.

[Begin Blinnikov recording] I would not say that the address to the RSFSR Government and Supreme Soviet is extraordinary. It is more of an ultimatum to the RSFSR Government and Supreme Soviet, or to be more exact to both chairmen. It was caused—I will not go into

historical details but, as it was 20 years ago, they are again trying to consider Karelia to be a raw materials supplier. Just two figures: Whereas today we fulfil approximately 98 percent of plans for contract deliveries, a maximum 40 to 45 percent of plans for deliveries of foodstuffs into Karelia are fulfilled. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Resignation of Leningrad Mayor Not Accepted

LD1809190190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] In connection with reports that Shchelkanov, the chairman of the Leningrad Soviet Executive Committee, has handed in his resignation, a TASS correspondent asked him to comment on this piece of news. I handed in my resignation to the Leningrad Soviet Presidium, Shchelkanov stated. It was examined but it was not accepted. That is why I have to continue carrying out my duties. Among the reasons indicated in the statement, Shchelkanov also specified that the post of chairman of the city soviet executive committee is altogether unnecessary under today's conditions and that it should be abolished, handing over the chairman's rights and duties to a collective body, the presidium.

Dzasokhov, Prokofyev Address Ideological Aktiv

PM1709105490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting With Ideological Aktiv"]

[Text] On 14 September a seminar of the capital's ideological aktiv began work at the Moscow city party committee and oblast party committee sociopolitical center. The audience was addressed by A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu.A. Prokofyev, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU City Committee.

A.S. Dzasokhov's report covered the current tasks of the CPSU's ideological renewal and political work among the masses.

A.S. Dzasokhov and Yu.A. Prokofyev talked in detail about the work of the party Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat and the renewal of CPSU structures and answered questions of concern to many people.

Volgograd Area Parties Agree Joint Action Plan

PM1809114190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Kornev: "Agreement Signed on Joint Action"]

[Text] Volgograd—In compliance with all procedural norms the Volgograd Oblast Soviet has signed an agreement on joint action and on coordinating the policy of the soviets, along with all parties and sociopolitical formations, during the period of economic stabilization and the transition to the market.

For clarity's sake, I will briefly describe the situation in the room where the finished, prepared text of the agreement was signed. A. Anipkin, CPSU Obkom [oblast party committee] first secretary, and D. Nesterov, chairman of the Russian Christian-Democratic Union Volgograd Oblast party organization political council, sat at one table next to V. Makharadze, oblast soviet chairman. B. Kostrykin, vice chairman of the board of the Russian Federation Social Democratic Party Volga-Don organization; V. Zenin, deputy chairman of the Russian Democratic Party Volgograd Oblast organization; and A. Biryukov, chieftain from the Don Cossacks' Volgograd District were also there.

Giving a brief commentary V. Makharadze, oblast soviet chairman, said that the compromise that has been achieved will not only relieve the excessive tension during the present transitional phase to the market while the associated problems can also be resolved by common efforts more promptly and more competently. [as published] I would add that the Volgograd agreement is perhaps still unparalleled in today's situation that is rife with conflict. That is why I will acquaint you with some of its points, each of which came under the crossfire of opinion.

It stresses first that the formation of soviets of all levels must be facilitated and they must be offered support. The document says that we oppose pressure on the soviets from any quarter aimed at restricting their activity and powers.

During the implementation of the "500 days" program, the sides' parties to the agreement intend to do their utmost to promote economic and political stabilization in the oblast and to prevent actions that could disorganize the work of transport, communications, and enterprises providing vital services for people.

The oblast soviet presidium will now have a new working organ—a consultative committee. It will include the parties to the agreement, with equal representation for each of the sides. Thus parties and sociopolitical formations obtain the right to directly participate in the elaboration of highly important legislative acts and the local authorities' decisions.

I will cite one point in full: "The oblast soviet of people's deputies and its presidium, aware of the emergence of a multiparty system and mindful of the complexity of the situation in which the new political parties find themselves, consider it advisable to set up a unified fund for one-shot material assistance and to assist in safeguarding the activity of the registered parties."

In my view, this point in many respects explains why the agreement on joint actions was nonetheless signed in Volgograd despite the difficulties entailed in the initial stage and skeptics' doubts, and despite the difference of positions and programs. The oblast soviet here pays

equal attention to all parties and discusses and resolves serious questions with them. It is easier to find a common language when the multiparty system is acknowledged in fact and not just verbally.

Udmurtiya's Deputies Consider Sovereignty Issue

LD1809151290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Izhevsk, 18 Sep (TASS)—The question of Udmurtiya's state of sovereignty has been submitted to the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of this autonomous republic within the Russian Federation which opened today. Three alternative drafts have been put to the people's deputies. One of them proposes turning Udmurtiya into a soviet socialist republic of the Union, another retaining its autonomy but omitting the word "socialist," while a third suggests calling it the Udmurt People's Republic.

All the drafts are permeated with a common idea: Udmurtiya is seen as a democratic state governed by law within a Russian Federation undergoing renewal. [passage omitted]

Pskov Obkom First Secretary Relieved of Duties

LD1809190790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] A plenum of the Pskov CPSU Oblast Committee took place today. It relieved Ilin of his duties as first secretary of the oblast committee following his election as second secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum resolved to examine the election of a new first secretary of the CPSU Oblast Comittee at an oblast report-back and election party conference which will be held at the end of October.

Kurgan Oblast Elects New First Secretary

LD1809134390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] An organizational question was examined today at the Kurgan CPSU Oblast Committee plenum. Comrade (Pashkov), who previously worked as the second secretary of the obkom, was elected as its first secretary.

Winter Heating Shortfall Forseen in Russia

PM1409091790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Commentary by V. Reshetnikov under "Topics of the Day" rubric: "Will the Russian Winter Spare Us?"]

[Text] It is thought that the people populating the Russian Federation are frost-resistant. The opportunity to prove this once more might be provided by the coming winter. Albert Ivanov, chairman of Roszhilkommunsoyuz [Russian Housing and Communal Union], following a telephone conference devoted to preparing the republic for winter, quoted figures to your correspondent giving cause for deep thought. This winter there will be an average 20 percent shortage of heating capacity in 28 major Russian cities. If the air temperature is higher than minus 30 degrees, in simple terms there will be enough heating. If it is lower, there won't be enough. And the outcome will be a "heating shortfall" in apartments...

Two ways of enabling us to stay afloat in the sea of the "heat and power crisis" are envisaged. First—ensuring the stable functioning of the heating system. Second—saving resources and channeling them into heating housing blocks and other buildings. As we can see, both ways are traditional ones. Just as traditional as the last-minute race to prepare for the winter.

The Roszhilkommunsoyuz chairman agreed that this is, perhaps, one of our traditions not worth respecting. And he explained where its roots lie. The chronic heating shortage came about in pre-perestroyka times, when the increase in heating loads began to rapidly outstrip the increase in heat supply capacities. In other words, the power workers cannot keep pace with the construction workers. But it is not only that power workers build their facilities badly and spend a long time doing so. Added to that is the fact that the public has opposed capacities which are already ready for operation. Today there are dozens of mothballed power facilities throughout the republic. There is no denying, the Roszhilkommunsoyuz chairman thinks, that their ecological safety leaves much to be desired. But when all is said and done, the public has rarely suggested to the power workers any alternative, demanding only one thing—the closure of a facility whose desirability (because of the increased housing stock and the new industrial facilities being built) is not in doubt.

The fact that now the two extremes (the power workers' poor work and the "greens'" extremism) are "complementing" each other is, alas, only one side of the problem. The other, no less impressive in its insolubility, is the question of the heating networks themselves: Over 300,000 of Russia's 650,000 km of pipelines are in need of replacement!... One-half of the utility lines are operating beyond the theoretical (!) service life limits. Every kilometer of heating line has one outage a year.... If the set task is to get the system in order within 10 years, it is necessary to replace a minimum of 30,000 km of pipelines a year. At present we are only just managing to replace 10,000.

"A gigantic catastrophe is looming...." That is Albert Ivanov's opinion. An opinion, I am sure, that is not without interest to the Russian government, which, it must be admitted, is wilting under the burden of other ills as it is.

And is the capital ready for winter?

Muscovites have ample grounds for their anxious forecasts of the coming winter. This year Moscow economic planners are calling on the city's residents to heat their apartments, bluntly stating that there will be "heat supply maneuvering." This means that in the persistent frosts the temperature in certain apartment blocks will be no higher than plus 15 degrees. This applies especially to the capital's northern regions.

Mikhail Lapir, chief specialist of Moszhilinzh [expansion unknown], explained the reason for such a sorry situation. In spring this year the capital's public, in his opinion, was somewhat over zealous in demanding that the city authorities "get their act together" on the Severnaya TETs [Heat and Electric Power Station]. At that time the Ministry of Power and Electrification had allocated over $30 million for purchasing the latest foreign equipment and an independent examination of the station to be carried out by Western specialists. But the people made their own judgment. At a Moscow City Soviet session deputies insisted that the station be closed. And it was closed.

The capital's power engineers had pinned all their hopes on this selfsame TETs. There can be no talk about "fallback" options. In Mikhail Lapir's words, a whole action program is now being worked out "for an extreme situation" (in case the mercury column falls below the 30-degrees mark). It is proposed that first, however strange it may seem, hot water in the housing blocks will be turned off. It is thought both technically easier and more humane to do so—workers cannot be left without canteens and showers (especially at "dirty" factories).... They promise that during the "distribution" of hot water nursery schools, schools, and hospitals will not go short of water either.

The power workers claim that everything can still be put right: Both preparing ourselves for winter and preserving the ecological cleanliness of the capital's northern regions. All that is needed now is to decide whether there is to be a station or not. Fall is a lovely time, but it does have a vital drawback—it passes quickly....

Saransk Soviet Meets To Discuss Housing Abuses

LD1709141990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Despite a ban, an emergency session of the Saransk city soviet was held. The deputies disobeyed the decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic declaring an emergency situation until the end of this month in connection with the harvest and banning all events involving meetings and sittings, including sessions of the soviets of people's deputies.

The reasons for this decision [to hold an emergency session] became the agenda of the emergency session of the city soviet. These include the issue of local leaders and officials abusing their power when receiving, exchanging, and allocating housing. The session expressed its mistrust to the head of the parliament; the head of the autonomous republic government; and other officials involved in infringing upon the rules on receiving, exchanging, and allocating accommodations.

The city soviet released a group of city executive committee employees, including its chairman. The decision was adopted to deem invalid the deeds for apartments that had been allocated in violation of the law. Earlier decisions of the city executive committee on letting officials have the benefit of acquiring additional living space have been annulled. The actual benefits have also been annulled.

Poor Catch, State Orders Pose Fishing Problems

PM1909082990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Report by T. Stashevskaya and S. Krasnopeyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The salmonidae fishing season has ended in Chukotka. Here is a report from Anadyr on the results of the 1990 fishing season.

[Reporter] People on the Anadyrskiy Liman are worried. There were a lot of storms and rain this summer. Now the sweep-nets are being drawn in and the fishing boats are being docked for the winter. Unfortunately, the Chukotka fishermen's hopes for a bumper catch did not materialize. The liman has yielded a poor salmon harvest. As a result, the Anadyr fish processing plant has been able to fulfill only 25 percent of the plan set by the state order. And that means that there will be no salmon or caviar left for the inhabitants of Chukotka Autonomous Okrug. The entire valuable output will have to be dispatched to the Dalryba Association, and what is more in unprocessed form under the contracts which have been concluded.

[N.Z. Letfullov, director of the Anadyr Fish Processing Plant] Analyzing our economic activity in conditions of the leasehold system, I personally have come to the conclusion that the law on leasing which is currently in operation is unacceptable for us, for small enterprises of this kind. Why? First, it is the exhorbitant rate of payments which are deducted from our revenue. We have no control over our output, we are not allowed to decide what output and in what quantity we should produce and to whom we should sell it.

[Reporter] People here are not willing to reconcile themselves to this situation. Especially since the enterprise leadership has managed to mechanize the processing of the gifts of the sea. After many difficulties, imported equipment has been installed in the production shops. If all the fish and caviar hauled in during the fishing season were to be canned in these 140 g cans or otherwise packaged, the collective of the Anadyr fish processing plant could make a profit totaling 3 million rubles which

would enable it to repay its debts. However, it would have to pay astronomical fines for failure to meet contract deliveries.

Will the Russian ministry cut through the Gordian knot of the problems besetting Chukotka fishermen and fish processors, or will prosperity for the inhabitants of the okrug remain, as the proverb says, "In sight but just out of reach?"

Altay Kray Gasoline Shortages Reported

LD1709175590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] A thousand powerful Ural trucks used to transport grain in the Altay are idle. Notices saying "No gasoline and none expected" have been pinned up at filling stations in Barnaul, Biysk, Rubtsovsk, and all rayon centers in the Kray. The gasoline shortage began to be felt in the Altay Kray two weeks ago. At the beginning of September, trainloads of the required type of gasoline stopped arriving from the main supplier, the Chelyabinsk oil refinery. The kray, nevertheless, received its quota of 16,000 tonnes of gasoline, but [words indistinct].

There is no satisfactory answer from the Rosnefteprodukt concern, the gasoline distributor, to appeals for gasoline.

Western Republics

'Democratic Platform of Belorussia' Established

LD1809141990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Glod]

[Text] Minsk, 18 Sep—A new public and political organization has been formed in Belorussia, the "Democratic Platform of Belorussia" [Demokraticheskaya Platforma Belorussii]. Its members are, for the most part, former Communists who left the CPSU of their own volition.

"One of the central points of our program is a most rapid transition to the market and the active privatization of the means of production," one of the leaders of the organization, engineer Vitaliy Kotusev, told me. "We are also in favor of genuine statehood for Belorussia. For this it is essential to conclude a new Union treaty and for the republic to acquire the status of an entity of confederation within the Union."

By the end of year the new public and political organization wishes to attain the status of a political party. The next objective is to get its envoys delegates to the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. The next elections in the republic are not for another five years but this does not bother Vitaliy Kotusev. "I imagine," he said, "that in the next year or two early elections will be held in Belorussia, in which our supporters will take part like a parliamentary-type party."

In answer to the question as to the root of the "Democratic Platform of Belorussia's" disagreements with the CPSU and the Belorussian Communist Party, Vitaliy Kotusev said: "We have no strategic plans to build communism.

Belorussian Parliament Publishes Own Newspaper

90P50097A Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Parliament Founds Newspaper"]

[Text] I heard that the peoples' deputies of Belorussia have founded their own press organ. What is its name, and may one subscribe to it? (N. Sergiyevich from Kustanay).

Today in many republics the soviets are founding their own publications. The new Belorussian parliament publication is called "The Peoples' Newspaper", (NARODNAYA GAZETA). Its chief editor, I. Seredich, announced that it will come out in October of this year, five times weekly in Belorussian and Russian languages. The price of a year's subscription is 7 rubles, 80 kopeks. One may subscribe to it in any branch of "Soyuzpechat" in the country. The index number is 63868.

Moldovian Meeting Protests Violence Against Druk

LD1809191790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kishinev, 18 Sep (TASS)—A spontaneous protest meeting was held here today against sanctions which took place in (?Dubesary) where, on 17 September, separatist elements abused the state tricolor flag of the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic and committed an act of violence against Prime Minister Mircha Druk, and members of the republic's cabinet, who are in (?Dubesary) for a government working session.

The Democratic Youth of Moldova organization took upon itself responsibility for holding the meeting, which violates the moratorium announced by parliament on any mass demonstrations. Those taking part in the meeting halted traffic in the center of the town for several hours.

Exodus From Party in Ukraine Discussed

PM1809103590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Levada "Writer's Notes": "Time for Action and Spirits of Rejection"]

[Text] Kiev—Right in the center of Kiev, on October Revolution Square, an extremely graphic homemade poster recently appeared—among other similar posters—on the hoarding around the still unrestored damaged section of the main post office. The bold Zaporozhian cossack depicted on the poster, his saber held

menacingly over his head, is asking flatly: "Have you handed in your party card yet?"

You have to admit that the poster is striking—striking and extremely unambiguous. The only thing is that it makes invalid and even blasphemous use of the image of a son of the free Sech. The image of a warrior from the notorious "SS Galicia" division, dressed, of course, not in Zaporozhian baggy trousers but in an SS tunic with lightning flashes on the collar, would be far more apt in the context of the poster.

Nowadays such examples of "graphic agitation" are commonplace in the central square of the Ukrainian capital and in other rayons of the city. They appear, then vanish again, just as the imaginary cossack with his saber raised in threat vanished soon afterward. But the numerous rally slogans proclaiming "Down with the CPSU!", bolstered by additional loud threats of ruthless reprisals against Communists, not only do not disappear, but reproduce exponentially, increasingly acquiring the character of a direct signal for action... Especially on the lips of the small but vocal groups of special "guests" from Lvov and Ternopol who are regular visitors to Kiev.

Are there people in the republic who want to obey the calls to renounce their party cards? Yes, there are. In the last seven months 2,285 people have quit the Ukrainian Communist Party. In percentage terms, this is comparatively few, but statistics are not the point. After all, they are all living souls—2,285 of them! There is food for thought.

However, the Communists' opponents would be wrong to regard this phenomenon as the consequence of their threats and intimidation. No, I certainly do not rule out the possibility that the members leaving the party include pen pushers who are trembling over the prosperity of their official career and are trying just in case—though the possibility is extraordinary and unmentioned, but at the bottom of their hearts not ruled out—to insure themselves in advance, as it were, and to create something like an alibi for themselves: No, that's not me... even so I... anyhow, in general I always disagreed. In token of which I handed in my party card in good time, not the least afraid of the possibility of an impertinent remark from my neighbor—an old, indeed aged, Communist and veteran of the Great Patriotic War....

While, I repeat, there are of course some people like that, it is perfectly obvious that they are not the problem, so it is not very interesting to ponder them: The sooner the party is cleansed of such people, the better.

I want to talk about those who are confused, who have lost their way in the avalanche of contradictory events, in whose onrush it is so difficult to find a footing; about those who perhaps have not noticed, have not considered, how far they are being carried by the logic of essentially factional struggle, the heat of confrontation, and personal ambitions; about those who have been overly dizzied by their ascent on the crest of the wave of rallies and have come seriously to believe in their qualities as an oracle and Svengali; about those, finally, who, when analyzing events and phenomena, have a poor grasp of dialectics, confuse causes and effects, and give up in the face of the glaring contradictions of the reality around them.

You should write above all about what you know best. For me, that is the artistic intelligentsia of my own republic, creative workers, and above all my fellow Ukrainian writers and journalists. My reflections are addressed to them.

The writer Lazar Karelin recently spoke out truly vividly and truly cogently about the intellectuals who are now busily handing in their party cards in PRAVDA's Discussion Pamphlet (No. 60). With pain, with sorrow, honestly, frankly, and uncompromisingly. I totally go along with the principled theses of his article "Where Are You Off to From the Field of Battle?" and I regard my present notes as a reaction to the questions he raised. A general reaction, but one with a significant Ukrainian emphasis—that is, with a stress on certain specific features of social existence in the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] today.

These features lie primarily in the fact that all spheres of social life in the Ukraine—in the economy and politics, to say nothing of culture and art—today hinge on problems of the national state existence of the Ukrainian people in the new conditions for the life of our great multinational Soviet power. Of national state existence with profound and thoughtful consideration of the distinctive historical nature of the Ukrainian nation's development both in the prerevolutionary era and since October. This year the formation and establishment of national sovereignty for the Ukrainian Soviet state has been the problem of all problems and the main question in the ardent debates at all the most important social forums—"formal" and "informal."

The declaration on the Ukraine's national sovereignty has already been adopted. The 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress actively supported and developed the idea of elaborating and affirming it. After heated debate, the republic's Supreme Soviet has also adopted a number of other important laws: on the state language, on economic independence, and so forth. What only recently seemed almost unrealizable is now being realized! Now is the very time to start working with full effort, with sleeves rolled up, comparing and studying the various opinions and uniting all healthy forces in society to fulfill the lofty constructive tasks of perestroyka.

But no! The spirits of total rejection and destruction and unpardonable attacks on Communists in general and Ukrainian Communists in particular are now even more rampant than before. The spirits which, for instance, are kicking up a shameless pandemonium over monuments to the soldier-liberators and monuments to Lenin, Marx,

and ever Yaroslav Galan, the outstanding Ukrainian Communist writer brutally murdered by the nationalists in Lvov in 1949. The resurgent reactionary forces are increasingly fueling an atmosphere of wholesale rejection and condemnation around these and other kindred names, although they tirelessly piously invoke the shades of Petlyura and Bandera and their henchmen.

And it is at this time, in this atmosphere, that a group of Ukrainian writers (some almost simultaneously, and others—among the less well known—in their footsteps) suddenlyostentatiously announced at they were quitting the Comnunist Party.

The explinations are usually the same: I have "seen the light," I lave "realized at long last," I "did not know, I had no idea," or even a self-confident: "I is not I who have left the party, it is the party that has left me"... Not one statement declares: "I joined the party because I thought i was to my advantage to do so, but nowadays what is the advantage, if they have even abolished Article 6 of the Constitution..." There are no explanations like that, simply none, what a surprise!

I want toclarify: I am not going to oversimplify and put absolutely all the party "refuseniks" in the same category. I realize (and I actually have specific personal knowledge of such people) that the people handing in their pary cards also include people who are actively thoughtful, who are engaged in a troubled quest, and who sincerely care about the ills of our time but have lost their way among its extremely complex contradictions. There are comparatively few such people, but it is an interesting task to analyze the accelerated evolution of their views.

However the task that comes to the fore now is bigger, weightier and more burning and topical. It boils down to the need to ponder more profoundly the disturbing significance of any symptoms indicating attempts to weaken, destabilize, discredit, and ultimately destroy the Communst Party.

It is precsely this destructive trend toward destabilization, desruction, and elimination of the Communist Party which is promoted by the increased frequency of ostentatious departures from the party. Especially among the intelligentsia.

What is the serious danger here? It is that, in implementing such plans and intentions, the great opportunity, perhaps the only one of its kind that history has offered us, to complete the creation of a genuinely free, humane, democratic society founded on social justice—a society whose socialist face would encapsulate all the best, lifegiving dreams, aspirations, and scientific visions ofmankind's brightest minds—would most certainly be missed.

And, of course, the opportunity to recreate our Communist Party and renew it on the basis of Leninist principles, enriched with the difficult experience of history, would also be missed.

It is painful to think how easily, almost playfully, indeed, often with obscene bravado certain Communists, using the term loosely, bid farewell to their party cards. After all it is one of the best traditions of our party to cherish party cards and to seek in every possible way to justify the title of Communist.

I remember an instance from long ago with which I am very familiar. In the fall of 1936 a young Communist writer was expelled from the party as an "enemy of the people," his party card was taken away, and he was subjected to all the ordeals characteristic of that time. He was in a state of desperation—at everything he had been through, at what was going on around him throughout the country, and also at the fact that he did not, could not recognize his party in its new manifestations, could not recognize it and therefore regarded it as unthinkable for him to remain in the party, even if this had been a practical possibility.

Five years passed, the war broke out. He volunteered and went to the front and plunged into a spiritual environment where the words "Forward, Communists!" sounded like a summons of the heart, where the atmosphere of patriotic front-line fraternity determined the entire tenor of the front-line soldiers' daily life, and where the words "friendship of the peoples," which are not very fashionable nowadays, signified the very essence of the relations among the servicemen of the multinational Soviet Army. And in December 1941 he applied for readmission to the party and cried with joy and emotion when he was presented with his party card.

There were many similar examples, including examples on a far bigger scale. Remember the dramatic fate of Semen Rudnev, the legendary commissar of Kovpak's partisan formation, who was expelled from the party and repressed in 1937, but during the war became the party soul of the famous partisan movement. Or the fate of Marshal Rokossovskiy, who went to the front almost straight from a prison torture chamber. The applications to join the party written by soldiers on the eve of battle ("...if I die in battle, please regard me as a Communist") were not just glib words.

I think that it can be claimed that during the war years our party—at any rate almost the whole of its grass roots—was genuinely renewed and became once again a real, communist party. One of Stalin's crimes was that he refused to notice and ponder this. Or, to be more precise, he and his stooges did not want such a renewed party, indeed, it was even a danger to them. Hence, clearly, the fresh "tightening of the screws."

How is it possible to renounce the party now that it is truly being transformed before our very eyes, that it is necessary to focus every effort to accelerate this process, and that social forces are polarizing so rapidly in the country and ideological battles are becoming increasingly intense and in some respects maybe even fateful for the country!...

In conclusion, a few words about the evolution of views. Real and imagined. Here I will argue in a context that I know, that of the Ukrainian Union of Writers and its Kiev party organization.

First of all I assert unreservedly that the entire multifaceted company of Ukrainian writers unanimously greeted perestroyka with total support. Even the creators of "Rukh" [the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] (and it emerged within the Kiev writers' party organization) initially declared it to be a movement to assist the party in perestroyka. Only a little while ago we were more united and cohesive than ever. A plenum of the Ukrainian Union of Writers Board of rare unanimity was held three years ago about the urgent question of the abnormal situation with regard to the Ukrainian language in the republic. All the speakers at the plenum (including those who have now quit the party) first of all enthusiastically cited V.I. Lenin's fundamental instructions aimed at protecting the Ukrainian language. It was the plenum of the Union of Writers that raised the question of the need for constitutional protection of the language, mobilized the public over this issue, and took the crucial first steps toward creating the law on the state language in the Ukraine. The plenum did this, not "Rukh" [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] (which did not then exist) or the Lvov "Helsinki Union," which has now transformed itself into the "Republican Party."

Unfortunately this inspiring example was not copied. Some of the people who were then citing Lenin with such conviction are now vigorously aligning themselves with those who are passing decisions on destroying monuments to Lenin. They have totally forgotten the talk of helping the party in perestroyka. A factor in the mixed, motley, and in some respects extremely contradictory phenomenon of "Rukh" has clearly been the vigorous pressure of bloc allies—extreme right-wing, overtly nationalist groupings. In this circumstances the departure from the party of certain recent ultrarevolutionary "fighters for perestroyka" has been quite natural, as it were.

Never mind, that is a matter for each person's conscience. We are not going to ostracize anyone among us writers. Of course, it is possible that certain former Communists had long been indulging in social mimicry, duplicity, and timeserving. But it is even more possible that some of them, having lost their way among the contradictions of the time, are sincerely in error. In what precise respect? I think that this case they are mistaken in their ideas about the most persuasive opportunities for resolving the nationalities question. Including the question of state sovereignty.

It looks as though they now think that a solution of these problems is conceivable not in conditions of the Soviet state system, but within the context of a different system. The capitalist system, in other words.

Yes, we have a great deal of unfinished business in the resolution of the nationalities question in our socialist state. The monstrous Stalinist distortions have painfully complicated this task. But nevertheless, a reliable foundation for the peoples' friendship and fraternity was laid even in former years. Otherwise we would not have held out during the war and would not have clambered to our feet from the postwar disarray.

What can justify the stubborn refusal to see and make constructive, creative use of the inexhaustible potential for resolving this task offered to us by perestroyka and the elaboration of a new basis for the existence of Soviet statehood? And without such a solution the threat is mounting, shots are already ringing out in some places, and the blood of innocent victims of ethnic strife, the blood of women and children, is being shed....

It is with good reason that my Moscow colleague L. Karelin warns against instigators of ethnic enmity in his article. "Some of them," he writes, "do not even realize what they are doing, believing that they have merely lighted a small bonfire—incidentally, there are many such people among us writers—but one small bonfire leads to another, and then there are flames everywhere."

These flames are all-consuming. Reason is needed in order to prevent them. Along with a great sense of responsibility. And courage.

'Destabilizing' Forces in Chernigov Banned

PM1809101990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Activity Banned"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Chernigov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has decided to "ban the activity of political groupings and organizations that are destabilizing the political situation."

INTERFAX's correspondent was told by members of the Presidium that this decision was justified by the fact that calls to "change the Soviet state system, make short work of individual Communists, and violate the monument to V.I. Lenin" have become more frequent during public actions. They also said that antisocialist and nationalist pamphlets are being circulated within the city. The Chernigov Oblast Soviet Presidium urged oblast law-enforcement organs to "resolutely curb the implementation of similar mass events and institute criminal proceedings against the culprits."

Rally Commemorates 1939 Ukraine Reunification

LD1809170190 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1745 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Participants in the many thousands strong meeting in Lutsk called the event of 17 September 1939 [entry of Soviet troops into then Poland] an outstanding one in the history of the Ukrainian people, and as the realization of its ages-long dream. It was devoted to the

51st anniversary of the reunification of west Ukraine with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic within the USSR.

The meeting was organized by party and war veterans and by the Volynian and Lutsk party obkom and gorkom. At the same time the representatives of Rukh and of several public and political organizations which are closely cooperating with it declined to take part in the meeting. The participants of the meeting expressed their attitude toward events in the country, and in west Ukraine in paricular, in the language of numerous slogans and posters: Our strength lies in unity; Dialogue instead of confrontation; Out with nationalism; Reunification was the decisive step toward the consolidation of the Ukrainian people; and: We shall not permit acts of vandalism against the monuments to Lenin.

Army Conscription Commission in Lvov Suspended

LD1809215490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 18 Sep

[Report by correpondent V. Lyashko from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Lvov Oblast Soviet has suspended the activity of the Commission of Conscription into the Army on the territory of the oblast.

At this time there are usually a number of young conscripts and their parents outside the military registration and enlistment offices, but today, as you can see, it is quiet here. True, the atmosphere is tense inside the offices themselves. Today we involuntarily became witnesses of a conversation between the head of a department of the oblast executive committee who checks in at the enlistment offices, and the head of a commissariat department. One was insisting on the strict fulfillment of the oblast soviet decision, while the other tried to prove that this decision runs counter to the law on military duty.

[A.V.Popov, chief of the Conscription Department of the Military Registration and Enlistment Office] Citizens residing on the territory of the oblast have also found themselves in a difficult position because at the moment they do not know who to listen to.

Lvov Resolution 'Attempt To Wreck Fall Draft'

PM1709142890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel G. Oboznyy under the rubric "Direct Line": "Confrontation Yet Again"]

[Text] Lvov—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers know what a response was elicited by the Lvov Oblast Soviet Presidium resolution "On Performance of Compulsory Military Service by Lvov Oblast Draftees." It stated that inducted personnel drafted from Lvov Oblast, who were serving outside the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and who left their service, are not to be considered deserters.

The Lvov Oblast Prosecutor's Office made a representation to the oblast soviet presidium to reconsider the adopted decision and to bring it into line with the requirements of current legislation. However, Lvov Oblast Soviet Presidium not only did not heed this but adopted a new resolution running counter to both existing legislation and common sense. It states, in particular, that, since the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 30 July 1990 "On Performance of Compulsory Service by Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR and the Use of Workers of the Republic's Law-Enforcement Organs Outside the Republic" is ignored by the USSR Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs, the oblast soviet executive committee and local soviets must suspend the activities of existing draft commissions, not create new ones, and not carry out another recruitment of draftees. This is nothing but an attempt to wreck the fall draft and to seek not ways to resolve the problems that arise but confrontation.

Plenum Calls for Action, Asks for Instructions

PM1909090790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent N. Mironov: "Follow-Up: There Is No Time To Wait"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—"Acting Means Not Waiting"—that was the headline given to a report in PRAVDA 3 September. It described how the question of crisis phenomena within the oblast party organization was taken off the agenda during a Dnepropetrovsk party obkom [oblast committee] plenum despite the fact that this question was to all intents and purposes long overdue.

There was an immediate response to the article. A conference of secretaries from party committees, raykoms [rayon committees], and major industrial enterprises adopted the decision to hold this plenum nonetheless, without waiting for the accountability report at the second stage of the oblast party conference. Although the wording of the agenda was somewhat glossed over—instead of talk of "crisis phenomena..." there was talk of the "present moment and urgent measures"—it was the crisis within the party as a whole and the oblast party organization in particular that was discussed by those gathered for the plenum and in the adopted resolution. The report also mentioned the PRAVDA article, criticizing the obkom bureau—criticism with which one had to concur.

The plenum also noted the "residents' dissatisfaction," the "mistakes permitted during the perestroyka years," the "wild rampage of speculation and crime," and the "mistrust in the force and prestige of the authorities and the laws." However, it must be pointed out that these recriminations were once again directed not so much at

themselves as at the center, at the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and M.S. Gorbachev personally.

On the one hand, the adopted resolution said that "it is inadmissible for the oblast's Communists to bide their time, confine themselves to stating the facts, underestimate the acuteness of the situation, and manifest lack of organization and confidence." On the other hand, the plenum's participants adopted an appeal to M.S. Gorbachev, demanding that the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee give clear indications as to how they should act in conditions of the approaching market.

The desire to carry out orders and not think and choose for themselves revealed for the umpteenth time their habit of working in the old way without enterprise and creative quest. Isn't that why the call "Don't wait!" has failed to receive effective backing so far?

"Let's take some kind of specific action, albeit on a small scale, but action at least. I've had enough of big words," one speaker urged.

The practice of biding one's time is, regrettably, continuing despite the adoption of radical resolutions. It would be nice for the Dnepropetrovsk obkom plenum to prove to be a crucial moment for the oblast party organization.

Ternopol Oblast First Secretary Elected

LD1709162390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] The main directions in the activities of the oblast party organization in implementing the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress were discussed at the oblast party conference in Ternopol. The leading bodies of the oblast party organization were elected. As a result of the secret ballot on a multicandidate basis, Boyko was elected first secretary of the Ternopol Oblast party committee. Formerly he was the chairman of the oblast committee of people's control.

Ukrainian Higher Party Schools Reorganized

PM19090090190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent M. Odinets: "Farewell, Higher Party School"]

[Text] Kiev—A decision adopted by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has transformed the Kiev and Odessa Higher Party Schools into new higher educational establishments for the republic—the Kiev and Odessa Institutes of Political Science and Social Management. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee said that this does not merely involve a change of name but a radical revision of approaches to cadre work.

Nikolayev Shipyard Ceasing Warship Production

PM19090953390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 6

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent A. Kuznetsov: "Shipyard Disarms"]

[Text] The ceremonial launch of the missile cruiser Fleet Admiral Lobov marked the end of warship construction at the 61 Commissars Plant in Nikolayev. Under a contract with a Western firm, construction of a comfortable floating hotel has begun on the now-available stocks.

One of the republic's oldest shipyards (built 200 years ago to supply the Russian Fleet with warships) it has recently been carrying out civil orders to build large refrigerated vessels. Making use of the autonomy granted to them, the shipyard workers have succeeded in resolving a whole range of organizational and technical tasks brought about by the changeover to new production. In order to cooperate successfully with foreign partners, Soviet shipbuilders have been studying management in Moscow and Bologna, and have familiarized themselves with production organization and technology at shipyards in Italy and Denmark.

The first floating hotel, capable of carrying 450 passengers, will be launched at the end of the year.

Uranium Wastes Said Contaminating Kirovograd

LD1809220590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 18 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Summary] Unguarded wastes from the proximity of the uranium mines are getting onto the roads on the outskirts of Kirovograd. The gravel-like waste is being asphalted over, but the people are literally being bathed in radiation. Of checks made in 200 places, the background radiation in twelve was more than 100 microroentgens, five times higher than the permissible amount, and in Aleksandriyskiy Lane it was as much as four hundred times higher. [Video shows people walking around on radioactive gravel and Geiger counters showing high readings]

Caucasus

Interview With Azerbaijan's Gasanov Reported

NC1809092290 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 15 Sep 90 p 7

[Report by Fikret Bila: "A Number of Agreements With Azerbaijan"]

[Text] Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, has arrived in Turkey to sign a number of agreements. He said that Azerbaijan supports Turkey's policy and President Turgut Ozal's approach to the Gulf crisis. Gasanov

answered questions from MILLIYET during the flight from Moscow to Turkey. Noting that Azerbaijan opposed Iraq's occupation and annexation of Kuwait, Gasanov said: "The borders of the countries around the world are marked. We are opposed to Iraq's occupation and annexation of Kuwait. Armeniais demanding land also—from Azerbaijan. Confronted with such a threat, Azerbaijan defends the view that no country should covet the land of another country. We believe that Mr. Turgut Ozal is pursuing a positive policy on the Gulf crisis and we support him. The world does not need new wars."

The Armenian Threat

Regarding Azerbaijan's problems with Armenia, Gasanov said: Armenia is claiming land from Azerbaijan. That republic created a problem which involved the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in an attempt to provoke Azerbaijan, but it could not. Actually, it wanted to fragment Azerbaijan. However, Azerbaijan displayed a stronger unity and cohesion than before. We want the problem to be settled politically and peacefully. Nevertheless, we are ready to do anything to defend our land. We support the idea of resolving the problems without a clashes or a war, but we are prepared to use every means to defend our land."

Noting that the central government in the Soviet Union failed to address the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan at the right time, Gasanov said: "It could be that they did not wish to understand this dispute."

Gasanov also asserted that the central government became more concerned with the dispute because of the unity and solidarity in Azerbaijan.

Rearmament

Drawing attention to Armenia's continuing effort to acquire arms, Gasanov asserted: "The Armenian National Assembly has disclosed that the armed militia forces are affiliated with the Assembly and vowed that these forces will fight for Armenia. If the armed militia forces and the vow that was made by the Armenian National Assembly are aimed at others, then a problem does not exist. However, if they plan to fight against Azerbaijan, then we are ready to do what is necessary. The armed forces in Armenia must be disbanded as soon as possible. Republics such as Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Georgian SSR, in which national feelings are very strong, should not be armed. On the contrary, they must be disarmed."

The Situation in the Soviet Union

Referring to political developments in the Soviet Union, Gasanov said that bilateral agreements must be concluded among the republics in the Soviet Union before the new Union agreement is signed. Expressing his thoughts on the matter, which have come to be known as the "Gasanov Thesis" in the Soviet Union, Gasanov said that he has explained his views to the Soviet officials as follows: "I must resolve my dispute with Armenia before I sign the Union agreement in the Soviet Union. I must guarantee the security of my borders before I sign the Union agreement with a republic that covets my land. I have brought this matter up at the highest level. The Soviet officials want the Union agreement signed first. They argue that only economic agreements can be concluded among the republics. However, political agreements must be reached among the republics before economic agreements are concluded. The borders of the republics must be categorically secured."

Gasanov noted that his thesis was widely supported among the members of the commission, which is working to draw up the new Union's constitution. This commission is made up of the representatives of the Soviet republics.

Visit to Turkey

Gasanov said that he is visiting Turkey to conclude agreements in six different areas. He asserted: "These are related to the opening of a Turkish consulate in Baku, the construction of a bridge between Turkey's Arpacay and Azerbaijan's Nakhichevan regions, the construction of a railroad link and a motorway between the two countries, the establishment of a direct telephone line between Baku and Ankara and Istanbul, and the conclusion of a trade agreement which will involve shipping and land transportation between Azerbaijan and Turkey."

Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Speaks With Army Officers

LD1809202390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Tasks facing commanders in educating personnel and their participation in implementing the reform of the armed forces were discussed in Baku today at a meeting between young officers of the Transcaucasion military district, who are doing their service on the republic's territory, and Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic President Mutalibov. He shared his thoughts about the current situation in the country and in the Transcaucasus region. The Azerbaijan president sharply criticized the actions of some public organizations and movements aimed at undermining the Army's authority in the eyes of the people. Having dwelt on questions of the social protection of servicemen and on the difficulties of their life, he gave the assurance that the Azerbaijan leadership will do everything possible to resolve these problems, and will in every way assist enhancing the officers' prestige.

Geydar Aliyev on Azerbaijan Campaign Trail

PM1909111990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[INTERFAX report: "Geydar Aliyev's Election Tour"]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports that last Saturday local inhabitants in one of the villages in the Nakhichevan ASSR's [Autonomous Soviet Socialist

Republic] Dzhulfinskiy Rayon met with Geydar Aliyev, former CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, who is running for the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. The residents warmly welcomed their countryman and, according to ancient Azerbaijani custom, made a sacrifice: A sheep was slaughtered at Aliyev's feet. Geydar Aliyev was accompanied by senior party and government officials from the autonomous republic. Aliyev is on the campaign trail in the Nakhichevan ASSR.

Manukyan Briefs Supreme Soviet on Cabinet

NC1809114190 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] This morning's session of the Armenian parliament opened with the debate of a declaration on the violation of human rights in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the resultant hunger strike by a group of political activists. Rafayel Babayan, chairman of the Human Rights and Nationalities Affairs Commission, presented the declaration to the parliament. It was endorsed after some editorial changes.

Next, Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, presented the basic principles underlying the formation of the new government and its structure. This issue was the first point on the agenda distributed to the deputies today.

The prime minister gave a brief assessment of our current economic situation and future prospects which are closely connected with the process of the economical collapse of the Soviet Union. He noted that while Armenia endorsed Academician Shatalin's 500 days economic reform program being debated at the USSR Supreme Soviet, it has its own separate economic plan suited to our republic's characteristics and national temperament. The prime minister noted that we have two objectives: The domestic development of the economy while maintaining broad and mutually advantageous ties with the USSR, and the establishment of economic relations with foreign countries. The domestic economic development must proceed along the road of private ownership, something unacceptable for Russia. A ministry of foreign economic relations is being set up to develop foreign economic ties.

Next, Vazgen Manukyan presented the list of changes in the Council of Ministers and state committees and answered the deputies' questions.

At the evening session the deputies examined the government program.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Urges Hunger Strike End

PM1809132990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Statement by Armenian Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Yerevan—On 17 September the Armenian Supreme Soviet session adopted a statement addressed to all parliaments of the world, the Supreme Soviets of all the country's republics, the USSR Supreme Soviet session, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

The document has been sent to the aforementioned addresses in connection with the hunger strike declared in Moscow by a group of the country's people's deputies from Armenia and the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. They include the writer Zoriy Balayan, Armenian Academy of Science President Viktor Ambartsumyan, USSR People's Artist Sos Sarkisyan, and other deputies. Their main demand is to restore the structure of legitimate local power in the NKAO, avert the threat to the life and safety of the autonomous oblast's population, and prevent the dramatic events which have reached a climax from developing into an irreparable tragedy.

The statement by Armenia's parliament says, in particular, that, since other methods of democratic struggle have not yet been exhausted, the republic's Supreme Soviet calls on the hunger strikers to abandon the strike. This appeal is prompted primarily by serious concern at the state of health of the people's deputies, particularly Armenian Academy of Sciences President Viktor Ambartsumyan, who is 82 on 18 September.

Armenian Interior Ministry on Crime Situation

NC1809113090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Statement by the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry]

[Text] On 15 and 16 September Armenia recorded two bandit attacks; 12 cases of state and personal property theft; two hooliganism incidents; and nine stolen cars, of which eight were stolen in Yerevan.

A group of unidentified people fired automatic weapons from Lachinskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan at a GAZ-53 bus station in Gorisskiy rayon. The driver Unanyan was killed and the station booth caught on fire.

One person was killed and four injured during eight road accidents.

One robbery, one state and one private property theft, and three cases of stolen cars were solved. Citizen "G" was recaptured after escaping from detention.

The staff at the crime investigation department of the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry is taking measures to arrest criminals who extorted money from citizen "M."

After explanations [to the citizens] and legal searches, 43 kilograms of ammonite explosive material and 750 electrical explosives were found and confiscated in Abovyanskiy Rayon.

Nine stolen cars were found and returned to their legal owners. The ownership of 130 vans is being determined.

For the last two days 99 violations of curfew have been registered; 12 of them were fined and 86 were given a warning.

Tbilisi Demonstrators Demand Release of Activist

Picketing Continues 18 Sep

LD1809120890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Sep (TASS)—Picketing continues for the third day outside of the KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia buildings, which are in the very center of the capital of this transcaucasian republic. The organizers of the action are some of those who took part in last Saturday's meeting at the national stadium staged by the parties and socio-political organizations in the "Roundtable."

After the meeting at the stadium, those who took part moved on to government house, where the event continued. Around midnight they set off for the Interior Ministry and KGB buildings. A group from the meeting burst into the KGB building, occupied the first floor, smashed furniture, and broke glass. A second group boarded up the main entrance of the first block of the republican Interior Ministry.

The main demand of those taking part in the action was the release of David Gelashvili, a member of the Society of Saint Ilia the Righteous, which is a participant in the "Roundtable," who is suspected of involvement in the recent attack on an Internal Affairs section in a rayon in Georgia.

Militia officers showed great restraint and tact in the situation that has taken shape. As the press center of the Georgian Interior Ministry reported today, in order to avoid further aggravation of the situation, the restrictions imposed upon David Gelashvili have been altered, although the investigation into the cause of the attack on the Interior Ministry section continues. The republican Interior Ministry has called upon those taking part in the action, and the population of the city, to keep the peace.

Activist Released

LD1809195490 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The news agency INTERFAX reports that the picketing of the KGB and Interior Ministry buildings in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi, has stopped. They were picketed for three days by activists and supporters of a radical and nationalist organisation. [passage omitted]

The main demand of the picketers was fulfilled: David Gelashvili, a member of the society of St Elijah the Righteous, was released from custody. He had been detained on charges of attacking a police station in Georgia.

KGB Releases Statement

LD1909133590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1222 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—The USSR KGB issued a statement today on the attack on the Georgian KGB building carried out after an unauthorized meeting by an angry crowd on the night of 16-17 September in Tbilisi.

As has already been reported some of the attackers got into the investigations department and stole documents, video apparatus, and personal belongings of the staff. The attackers demanded the disbandment of the Georgian KGB as well as the release of an individual held on suspicion of murdering the Adigenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department deputy chief. Despite the fact that those taking part in the pogrom subsequently left the building the atmosphere surrounding the Georgian KGB remains tense.

The USSR KGB Collegium states that "the attack on the Georgian KGB headquarters is an extremist manifestation of a frenzied campaign against the state security organs." Its aim, says the statement, "is to reduce, dismember, and even eliminate the KGB and this is being objectively merged with propaganda inspired by certain Western special services and being intensively imposed on public opinion by the forces which the KGB is obviously preventing from carrying on their illegal activity." It is also by no mere chance, says the statement, that the attacks on the KGB intensified after it joined the campaign against organized crime and achieved its first tangible results against it.

The statement also states that "when democratization and glasnost are used as a cover for attempts, and now even actions, aimed at discrediting the USSR KGB then damage is done to the country's security system as a whole." With the current increased intelligence work of foreign special services against the USSR and the growth in organized crime inside the country those who "carry out attacks on the KGB are not serving the cause of stabilizing the situation in the country," notes the document.

Central Asia

Cases of Bubonic Plague Confirmed in Kazakhstan

PM1709105590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent V. Ardayev: "Was There Really Plague in Guryev?"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—In a July item under the "Direct Line" rubric our newspaper, citing Ya. Klebanov, Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] chief hygiene

officer, denied the reports of some mass media that bubonic plague had been diagnosed in a sick boy in Guryev Oblast.

The reply received by our correspondent sounded unambiguous: It was a false alarm. The boy simply had enlarged lymph nodes. God forbid, as they say.... But a little while later KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA published an item by a KAZTAG correspondent: "Bubonic Plague: How To Guard Against It?" The article, citing Professor V. Stepanov, director of the USSR Health Ministry Central Asian Anti-Plague Scientific Research Institute, mentions two cases of bubonic plague this summer, both in Guryev Oblast, and it is specified that one case has already had a fatal outcome. Where is the truth? I had to ask Ya. Klebanov for further elucidation.

"Two cases of plague were indeed recorded in Guryev Oblast this summer," Yakov Arkadyevich admitted. "In the first case the patient was hospitalized with an utterly different diagnosis and so the treatment was correspondingly different. And only after his death, during the patho-anatomical study, an analysis of dead tissue showed the presence of the plague pathogen [vozbuditel]. I should immediately make it clear that this fact has absolutely nothing to do with us at the Kazakhstan Health Ministry—the patient was admitted to the railroad hospital and, as you know, that is an independent medical department....

"As for the second case which is already known," Ya. Klebanov continued, "it remains controversial. The 'bubonic plague' diagnosis was made for the child during an initial examination by a feldscher and was not confirmed subsequently. It proved impossible to determine whether he really had the plague because by the time a special examination was carried out special medicines had already been used which were able to nip the infection in the bud, so to speak.... We carried out all the necessary quarantine and anti-epidemic measures. As for the boy, he was discharged from hospital long ago and as far as I know is well."

In fact "did the boy really exist...?" But is the danger as unreal, as illusory as that? The above-mentioned interview with Professor V. Stepanov mentions that the forecast for 1990 warned that this summer an outbreak of very serious disease should be expected among the rodents within an enormous region including the territory of all the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. And the forecast proved correct: In Kazakhstan alone plague appeared among rodents on the territory of six (!) oblasts. And the republic's population, the public, learned of this at the height of summer, not before the summer for which this "peak" was predicted.

As regard the "railroad" case, we can only gesture helplessly. How much time did the plague victim spend in a ward with other patients receiving common food, treatments and so forth? This incident occurred a month earlier than the next one involving the little boy, but it was made known to the press far later and to all appearances only fortuitously—why? Is it not clear that the widespread notification of the population regarding such cases is one of the best ways of preventing epidemics? There are many questions, but which department should they be addressed to: the republican or Union health ministry or... the Ministry of Railways? One thing is obvious: Our doctors still prefer to conceal from people information which affects their health and even lives most directly.

Aralsk 'Plague' Kills One, Hospitalizes 340

LD1809073790 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] An outbreak of the plague has been registered in the town of Aralsk in Kazakhstan.

One of the two people affected has already died; 340 people who were in contact with them have been hospitalized. Aralsk has been placed under quarantine, medical posts set up, and offices closed.

Specialists say the cause of the disease was eating camel's meat. The meat was traced down and destroyed.

New Kazakhstan News Agency Registered

LD1709133790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Summary] A new Kazakh news agency called DANA PRESS has been registered today. The agency offers its consumers "objective information on international, interregional, and interethnic links; on political, economic, social, and spiritual life of the peoples and ethnic groups of the region". DANA PRESS has also received the right to be part of the all-Union information market.

Tajik SSR Official Meets Iranian Visitor

LD1809170990 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1300 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Today Makhkamov, Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet member chairman, member of the CPSU Central Committee buro and Tajik Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, received Mohammad Eshaq Madani, member of the presidential office of the Islamic Republic of Iran [bureau records list him as advisor on Sunni affairs]. Makhkamov told the Iranian guest about the democratic changes taking place in the republic, and briefed him on the Tajik SSR sovereignty declaration adopted at the republic's recent Supreme Soviet session. It was noted that there are greater possibilities for boosting the Tajikistan economy and for the development of all-round, mutually advantageous contacts with foreign countries, including Iran. Mohammad Eshaq Madani thanked the Tajikistan people for the disinterested aid to ease the aftereffects of the earthquake in Iran. He noted that perestroyka, started by Gorbachev, is a strong impetus to the new stage in the mutual relations between Iran and

the USSR, Tajik SSR Foreign Affairs Minister Kayumav; Murodov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet committee on interethnic relations international up-bringing and foreign affairs; and Arifi [name as heard], third secretary of the Iranian Embassy in Tajikistan, were present at the ceremony.

Islamic Institute Opens in Tajikistan

LD1709180890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Participants in the international Islamic conference taking place in Tashkent arrived today in Dushanbe.

[M. Nikulin] Delegations from Egypt, Pakistan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates; prominent Islamic figures from other states; and leaders of the Islamic clergy in Central Asia are familiarizing themselves with the life and work of believers in Tajikistan. They are participating in a joint service in the local mosque and attending the opening of the first higher spiritual institute in Tajikistan, the second in Central Asia. This is a great event for believers in the republic. In this beautiful complex, built in the best traditions of oriental architecture, young people who are devoting themselves to religion will live and study for four years. The new spiritual institute is named after Imam al-Termezi, the outstanding Islamic thinker and theologian whose 1,200th anniversary is being widely marked in the Islamic world.

[Haji Akbar Turadzhon-Zade, head of the Tajikistan Muslims] Thanks to perestroyka a great many mosques have been registered here recently. There are now more than 80 mosques. In each of them we can find trained and qualified cadres. We were therefore compelled to open an Islamic institute in Dushanbe. The main theological subjects and sciences of Islam will be studied here, but the histories of other religions will also be studied, as will the history of the Tajik people, literature, and the Russian language so that our future imams will have a well-rounded education.

Turkmen Internal Affairs Minister Replaced

PM1909091390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Kuleshov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "MVD Minister Had To Go"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—Rating the work of the Turkmen MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] as unsatisfactory, the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee advised S. Niyazov, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, to examine the question of the expediency of retaining V. Grinin in the post of Turkmen SSR minister of internal affairs.

During the last two of the four years which V. Grinin has spent in the republic the statement: "The republic MVD Collegium under the chairmanship of V. Grinin is exerting virtually no influence on improving the operational situation in Turkmenia..." became a commonplace at plenums, conferences, and sessions. Against the backdrop of a sharp rise in the crime rate in the republic during the first eight months of the current year, almost one in two of the crimes committed has not been cleared up. And who is to clear them up if crime among the Turkmen militia remains higher than anywhere else. It is almost double the rate among the civilian population.

In order to maintain prestige and retain personal authority, farfetched sensational cases were invented and mafias were "created" where they did not exist, nor could have existed—while the genuine "mafiosi" here were not tackled.

After discussing the question of the candidacy for the post of republic MVD minister, the Supreme Soviet committee recommended S. Charyyarov, chief of the Turkmen KGB Administration in Tashauz Oblast, to be appointed to the vacant post.

'Exodus' of Non-Uzbeks From Uzbekistan 'Growing'

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[Report by Sh. Zaynutdinov: "Who Is Going and Who Is Staying"]

[Text] Tashkent—The exodus of the Russian-speaking population from Uzbekistan is growing. The reason for this is last year's events in Fergana and Kokand, and this year's events in the neighboring Kirghiz oblast of Osh.

Who knows where social conflagrations will flare up next in this region, says departing Russian families, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks.

Yes, they are headed in all directions—Russia, Belorussia, the Ukraine, abroad. The Kokand public, the republican paper PRAVDA VOSTOKA writes, is worried by the mass exodus of the nonindigenous population. People here know what can happen when qualified specialists and skilled workers leave, and they do not believe that all the problems will vanish with the departure of nonindigenous inhabitants. Many Uzbeks are opposed to their leaving and are trying to persuade their neighbors and friends to stay in Kokand. But only the odd one returns....

"It is hard to pretend that nothing is happening," war and labor veteran Kurban Valiyev said. "I am an Uzbek and I have had a long life. In my declining years I have encountered such concepts as 'extremists,' 'Russian-speaking population,' and 'interethnic enmity.' I am sorry about what is happening in my land where, in the past, thousands of people have found shelter and sustenance in their hour of need.... People are frightened and they are leaving their birthplaces in search of a quiet life.

They may well find a quiet life. But what about the memories that are tormenting and killing those who actually decided to leave. It is hard for us at the moment. It is hard for everyone—for those who are leaving and for those who are staying. Maybe together we can endure the fear, pain, and distrust and find a way out of the impasse? I believe reason will prevail."

This is what the three Nazarov brothers—Ilkhom, Ilmer, and Erkin—told me:

"Many things can be regained, but old comrades and friends never. It is difficult getting people to come back. But night has not fallen yet, as they say. And we believe that everyone in Kokand must do all he can to reassure those who are wavering and give them confidence."

Nevertheless, containers are piling up on the approach roads and the exodus from the city continues. Many people wanting to leave enterprises or institutions are having their applications signed automatically. Efforts are being made to accelerate the introduction of the law on language. In the streets of Kokand and at plants there are many untranslated signs and notices....

What do the inhabitants of Tashkent think of this? I talked with Ibragim Urinbayev, the physician in charge of the city emergency unit.

"There has been an exodus of Russian-speaking therapists and surgeons from many city clinics. They include Russians, Jews, Germans.... As for the native doctors, they cannot cope with the emergency workload. Our team is only 50-percent staffed at the moment."

One must add to all this the fact that there are officially 1 million people unemployed in Uzbekistan at the moment. The paradox is that there are plenty of "Wanted..." notices at plant gates and construction sites at the moment. One sees a similar picture in other republican cities as well as Kokand and Tashkent.